DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 293 757 SO 018 730

AUTHOR Osborne, Kenneth W.
TITLE Working Papers in Political Education. Monographs in Education XII.
INSTITUTION Manitoba Univ., Winnipeg.
PUB DATE 84
NOTE 141p.
AVAILABLE FROM Monographs in Education, Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2 ($7.50).
PUB TYPE Books (010) -- Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Citizenship Education; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Hidden Curriculum; *Political Attitudes; *Political Science; *Political Socialization; *Politics; Social Studies; Speeches; Values Education
IDENTIFIERS *Canada

ABSTRACT

This monograph contains five papers concerning political education in Canada. Chapter 1, "Political Education and the Teaching of Politics," considers the historical and philosophical connections between education and politics. Chapter 2, "Civics, Citizenship and Politics: Political Education in the Schools," explores definitions of political education and various approaches to achieving it. The socio-political impact of schools is discussed in chapter 3 in "Political Education or Political Socialization: The Role of the 'Hidden Curriculum'," while chapter 4 focuses on "Morals and Values in the Schools: Citizenship and Moral Education." Chapter 5, "Teaching Strategies and Political Education," outlines recent approaches to teaching about politics that lead to increased participation and competency. They include utilizing: (1) conceptual models; (2) issues or concepts; (3) case studies; (4) discovery and inquiry strategies; (5) a broadly defined concept of politics; (6) conflict studies; (7) experiential learning methods; (8) political action and participation; (9) politically relevant attitudes and values; and (1) life-long learning strategies. (JHP)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

ALEXANDER D. GREGOR

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SO018730

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

MONOGRAPHS IN EDUCATION

MONOGRAPHS IN EDUCATION

XII

# Working Papers in Political Education

Kenneth W. Osborne

*Editors*
Alexander Gregor
Keith Wilson

University of Manitoba

*Copyright* © University of Manitoba, 1984

ISSN 0709-6313

## FOREWORD

The *Monographs in Education* series is published twice yearly by the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, as a means of encouraging and disseminating research and scholarly writing on varied topics in Canadian education.

In bringing together a number of papers written on the topic of political education by Kenneth W. Osborne, a Professor of Education at the University of Manitoba, this volume carries an important message to everyone concerned with education. On one level, it provides some valuable guidance to educators charged with teaching the Social Studies. Yet in showing how political education extends beyond any particular subject, and in ways subtle and not-so-subtle pervades all aspects of the school's activities, the study provides some observations which must be taken into consideration by every teacher and administrator. And not least, it suggests to those institutions responsible for the educating of teachers that this dimension needs more explicit consideration than it has hitherto received.

As the author notes, the individual chapters of this Monograph consist of position papers presented on a number of different occasions for a number of different purposes. Inevitably, they contain some repetition of example which cannot really be excised without damage to the integrity and value of the parts. The reader's indulgence is requested.

The editors reiterate their appreciation to the Faculty of Education for its continued support of the series.

Alexander Gregor
Keith Wilson

## CONTENTS

Introduction

I Political Education and the Teaching of Politics ..... 5

II Civics, Citizenship and Politics: Political Education in the Schools ..... 23

III Political Education or Political Socialization: The Role of the "Hidden Curriculum" ..... 63

IV Morals and Values in the Schools: Citizenship and Modal Education ..... 83

V Teaching Strategies and Political Education .... 97

References ..... 123

## INTRODUCTION

These papers were written in response to specific requests and, for the most part, began as speeches or position papers. They all deal with the common theme of political education but they represent not a comprehensive treatment of the subject — a task upon which work continues — but discussions of particular aspects of it. Nonetheless, they do embody, more or less explicitly, a consistent point of view, one which has been described by a recent reviewer as "rational-activist" in conception. The description is accurate in that my intent is certainly to make students, either as students, or as adults once they have left school, or both, more active politically and to ensure that their activism is rationally based. All the papers in this volume derive from a commitment to participatory democracy as described by Carole Pateman, C. B. Macpherson, Patricia White and others.

This commitment is also linked to a conviction that, although Canadian politics are not participatory in any genuine sense, they can be made so and that one area, though obviously not the only one, where useful action can be taken is the school. It is well known that public education was instituted in large part to produce citizens, although many people have nonetheless come to accept the strange myth that the schools are not and should not be political. However, the citizenship that schools were intended to promote was much more passive than activist in its emphasis. To put it over-simply, the school was intended to "gentle" the people,

not to arouse them. Nonetheless, some arousing is possible and most of us know of teachers who successfully develop a measure of political interest and activism in their students.

To suggest that the schools can be vehicles for a political education which is both genuinely political and educational, as opposed to mere socialization or indoctrination, is, of course, to run headlong into the view that sees schools purely as instruments of ideological hegemony — as part of the "ideological state apparatus" to use Althusser's words — and as agents of cultural and social reproduction. In the words of a recent friendly critic, it raises the question of whether "the teaching of politics with a participatory bent is an exercise in tilting at windmills?" It is a troubling question, not least because I have to answer: yes, sometimes, it may well be. And although it is tempting to live like Don Quixote (although I am temperamentally more suited for the role of a Sancho Panza) there are more useful things to do with one's time than to attempt the impossible. Schools, however, are not monolithic institutions and, although there is much to be said for the view that they are important agents in the maintenance of a particular hegemony, they are not simply the bearers of the wishes of the dominant groups in society. Rather, as Brian Simon, Henry Giroux and others have pointed out, they are arenas of conflict where differing philosophies compete. At the very least,there is room for manoeuvre within them, so that political education, as I use the phrase in these papers, is a real possibility. We can find out to what extent only by trying it.

These papers in their various ways derive from a project in political education based at the University of Manitoba and funded by the Canada Studies Foundation. They represent, for the most part, attempts to come to grips with various practical problems. Inevitably, given their origins, they contain some overlap and repetition. However, in preparing this monograph I have tried to eliminate any such repetitions as were not necessary to maintaining the flow of an argument. The reader is asked to remember that this monograph is a collection of papers and that each paper was originally intended to stand on its own.

Thanks to members of the Political Education Project for their

suggestions, questions, objections, arguments and many and various interventions, not all of which, as they will be the first to recognize, have I been wise enough to heed. The give and take of argument within the group, however, has made for exceptional cohesion and productivity. Indeed, the activities of the group and their work in schools serves to demonstrate that real political education is indeed a possibility. Thanks then to Dwight and Karen Botting of the River East School Division; to Peter Francis and Richard Swyston of the Fort Garry School Division; to Ernie Baydock of the St. James-Assiniboia School Division; and to Bernie Semotok of the Assiniboine South School Division. All these people teach in schools around Winnipeg. I also owe a great deal to Dr. R. M. Anderson, Director of the Canada Studies Foundation; to his associate Benoit Robert of Laval and to my colleague, Dr. John Seymour of the University of Manitoba.

## I. POLITICAL EDUCATION AND THE TEACHING OF POLITICS

It should be said at the outset that there is nothing new in seeing schools as vehicles for political education, nor in linking education with the nature and development of society and the state. More than two thousand years ago Plato set out to investigate the nature of the good society, wrestling, as he did so, with the problem of whether the good society produces the good citizen or the good citizen produces the good society. The results of the investigation are, of course, set out in *The Republic*, a work which is commonly regarded as a classic in both political and educational theory. Indeed, it can justifiably be described as the first systematic investigation of educational theory, at least in the Western tradition, and it is worth noting how closely it linked education and politics. What Plato began, others continued and many of the great names of political theory are also the great names of educational theory. One thinks, for example, of Aristotle, Locke, and Rousseau. It is also notable that many educational theorists, although not in the front rank of political philosophy, nonetheless thought and wrote seriously about political and social issues, among them the Renaissance humanists, Puritan reformers, Enlightenment rationalists and nineteenth century nationalists.

Indeed, it is also worth noting that there have been two great periods of educational theorizing and practice in the Western

world: one, the years between approximately 1530 and 1650 and, two, the years since the early 1800's. The point is that they were also periods of intense political, social and ideological upheaval. The first, which lasted from 1530 to 1650, was, of course, the period of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation and, as their struggle intensified, both sides turned to education as one of their major weapons. On the Lutheran side, Melanchthon earned himself the reputation of "*preceptor Germaniae*." On the Calvinist, the Geneva Academy quickly gained a European reputation. On the Anglican, the period 1540 to 1640 has been described as an age of "educational revolution". On the Roman Catholic, the educational reputation of the Jesuits needs no elaboration. All this concern for education carried over into North America and in both New France and New England institutions of higher education were established in the very early years of both colonies. This interest in education, of course, derived from a conviction that proper education was essential to both the good life and the good society. On both sides of the religious divide, reformers advocated compulsory schooling to educate the young in the true faith. Their religious differences excepted, the Lutheran Melanchthon and the Catholic Sadoleto spoke in remarkably similar terms about the value and importance of education. Later in the period, in the 1630's and onwards, Puritan radicals such as Comenius, Hartlib and Dury continued the debate in a new form and created an international network of educational and political discussion and action embracing England, Germany, Scandinavia, New England and Poland. In short, education was seen on all sides as part of any programme of social and political change. Education was itself political.

This connection between education and politics, having lain dormant for the latter half of the seventeenth century and for much of the eighteenth, although it received considerable attention from the "*philosophes*" of the Enlightenment, was once again clearly established in the nineteenth century and we have been living with it ever since as we have grappled with the phenomena of industrialism and nationalism.

There is no need here to rehearse the familiar history of the

Industrial Revolution, although that history is being rewritten in recent years, but it might be useful to look at its impact on education in order to see how education was given a particular political purpose. The major strands of the Industrial Revolution can be quickly summarized: (1) the supersession of traditional human skills by machines; (2) the adoption of inanimate power sources; (3) the replacement of workshop and domestic industry by the factory; (4) the increasing size of the workplace; (5) the forging of new social relationships, especially between the new forces of capital and labour; (6) the rationalization of more and more aspects of human life; and (7) the creation of a new personality type which social scientists usually describe as "modern". As this last point suggests, as industrialization proceeded, industrialists increasingly realized the importance of producing the kind of personality that would freely integrate itself into the new society. In Stuart Ewen's phrase, the captains of industry had to become captains of consciousness.[1] Understandably, in the task of shaping popular consciousness the schools were given an important role.

One of the more serious problems facing the early industrial entrepreneurs was that of labour discipline. It was no easy task to tranform men and women accustomed to an agrarian rhythm into people who would govern themselves by clock and bell. Agrarian rhythms were largely tied to the cycle of physical nature: getting up at dawn, going to bed at dusk, working hard at particular periods such as seed time and harvest time, taking it more easily at others. Above all, it established an allocation of, and orientation to, time that had little to do with the clock. In the words of the social scientists it was "task-oriented". Thus, Landes writes of the peasant who "In moments of affluence. . . . lived for the day; gave no thought to the morrow; spent much of his meagre pittance in the local inn or alehouse; caroused the Saturday of pay, the Sabbath Sunday and 'Holy Monday' as well; dragged himself reluctantly back to work Tuesday, warmed to the task Wednesday, and laboured furiously Thursday and Friday to finish in time for another long weekend."[2] This pattern of intense labour, alternating with intense leisure, all characterized by a good deal of personal independence, was typical of pre-industrial culture. George Sturt,

for example, a nineteenth century employer, after describing the intricate skills and back-breaking labour of his sawyers, sawing planks by hand from tree trunks, went on to describe them as

> . . . drunken to a man. And the worst of it was that they worked in pairs. One sawyer was no good without his mate — he was as useless as one scissor would be. So, on a Monday morning, the one who reached his work first would loaf about waiting for the other, and then, sick of waiting, drift off to a public house. . . . His mate, coming at last, would presently find that his predecessor had begun boozing; and was likely enough to end a disgusted and wasted day by following suit. He might be, himself, in the thick of a great drunk by the time the first man was ready. And so it would go on. I have known sawyers unable to get together and start their week's work until Thursday morning.[3]

Such men were obviously not promising material for the new factories which demanded that workers be conscious of clock time, that they work at the pace of machines and that they govern themselves by prescribed routines. There is a revealing symbolism in that traditional reward for long service — the gold watch.

Labour discipline was — indeed, still is — a serious and troublesome problem and nineteenth century employers explored various solutions to it: coercion and harsh discipline; paternalism; the use of women and children who might be more docile; the use of technology to de-skill and simplify work so as to make workers easily replaceable; and, not least, education.

As early as 1770 in England, William Temple had observed of children that

> There is considerable use in their being, somehow or other, constantly employed at least twelve hours a day, whether they earn their living or not; for by these means, we hope that the rising generation will be so habituated to constant employment that it would at length prove agreeable and entertaining to them.[4]

At about the same time, the Abbé Galiéni, in atacking Rousseau's child-centred views, wrote that

> Education is the same for man and beast. It can be reduced to two principles, to learn to put up with injustice, to learn to endure ennui. What does one do when one breaks in a horse? Left to himself, the horse ambles, trots, gallops, walks but does it when he wishes, as he pleases. We teach him to move thus and thus, contrary to his own desires, against his own desires, against his own instinct — there is the injustice: we make him keep at it for a couple of hours — there is the ennui. It is just the same thing when we make a child learn Latin or Greek or French. The intrinsic utility of it is not the main point. The aim is that he should habituate himself to another person's will . . . it is a question of learning the weariness of concentrating one's attention on the matter in hand.[5]

Thus arose the structure of punctuality, diligence, obedience and politeness that came to characterize the schools. Thus arose, as I have argued elsewhere, the textbooks' emphasis on the importance of being "hard-working, temperate, and peaceable."[6] Thus arose also a curriculum and a pedagogy designed to make sure that students' ideas were appropriate to their station. As the historians of education have shown us, the advocates and promoters of compulsory schooling had many motives but among them was a concern for control and the preservation of the status quo. As John Hurt put it, describing England in the 1830's, "At a time when England lacked an effective police force, she turned to the schoolmaster and the workhouse master as substitutes. They were the twin agents by whom the labouring masses were to be reconciled to their unfortunate lot in a nascent capitalist and industrializing society."[7]

The same concerns and motivations were to be found in North America. Manitoba, for example, did not have province-wide compulsory school attendance until 1916 but throughout the 1890's and 1900's reformers were pressing for it as a solution to urban problems, especially those of disease, delinquency and idleness. Thus, in the 1880's the Winnipeg School Board followed the example of other urban boards in Europe, the U.S.A., and else-

where in Canada, in establishing military drill for boys. It would be, said the Board, "of great benefit to the boys — training them to habits of attention and obedience to the general school commands."[8]

Combined with this attention to certain kinds of values, attitudes and behavior which emerged in the nineteenth century was an equally careful attention to the training of national citizens. The nineteenth century was, after all, the age of the nation state and the nation state demanded not simply external loyalty and outward conformity but an inner commitment also. In W. L. Morton's phrase, the community of allegiance was being superseded by the community of contract. Furthermore, the nation state demanded unity and even uniformity. Regional loyalties, languages, dialects and identities had to be replaced by a belief in the nation. In all of this, of course, education was crucial, for it was through the schools that national identity would be created. This was a concern not only in Europe but especially in North America where both the United States and Canada were committed to assimilating the large numbers of "foreign" immigrants who arrived annually. Thus, when the Winnipeg schools staged a celebration to honour the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne in 1897, the school board noted of the students that "diverse in origin, diverse in speech and differing in faith, they are one in learning the lessons of loyalty to the empire on whose flag the sun never sets."[9] How well the lessons of nationalism had been learned in all countries, whether new creations like Germany, Italy or Canada, or long-established like England, France or Russia, was revealed in 1914 when, to the chagrin of socialist internationalists, men in all countries rushed to the colours.

The nineteenth century, then, saw the effective beginning of what has become the conventional wisdom of our own time: the use of education as an instrument of state policy in at least four ways: the creation and maintenance of national identity; the development of particular attitudes, values and dispositions; the production of certain kinds of skills needed for economic growth; and the stimulation of a commitment to a particular political system. As the

Winnipeg School Board put it in 1913, in words which remain true seventy years later:

> Until a comparatively recent period the schools were organized on purely academic lines and the avowed aim of education was culture and discipline. This aim has, however, been greatly enlarged within the past few years, by including within its scope the development of a sense of social and civic duty, the stimulation of national and patriotic spirit, the promotion of public health, and direct preparations for the occupations of life.[10]

In short, education is itself political, and to speak of the teaching of politics, as though politics were simply another subject like physics or physical education, must not obscure this central fact. Indeed, one can hardly think of anything more political than shaping — or attempting to shape — the future adults of a society. To quote the Winnipeg School Board again, this time in 1914:

> . . . on the school, more than upon any other agency, will depend the quality and the nature of the citizenship of the future; . . . in the way in which the school avails itself of its opportunities depends the extent to which Canadian traditions will be appropriated, Canadian national sentiment imbibed, and Canadian standards of living adopted by the next generation of the new races that are making their home in our midst.[11]

The Winnipeg School Board also spoke of the importance of laying "the foundation for intelligent participation in public matters,"[12] but, after almost one hundred years of effort, we do not seem to have been particularly successful. A recent survey found that

> . . . a majority of Canadian simply do not like politics or politicians . . . general comments on politics were 33% positive and 52% negative. The general comments on politicians were a staggering 78% negative in tone. . . . Government has been the same image; attitudes towards it are 75% negative. Similarly, the general comments on parties are 78% negative.[13]

In one sense, such reactions may be healthy. It is perhaps wiser to distrust government than to trust it, and politicians may well not inspire much confidence. However, there is a worrying suggestion in the evidence that it is not constructive scepticism but cynical negativism that is the dominant mood.

Certainly, most people do not seem prepared to participate in politics in any active way. The evidence shows that the more activity that is demanded, the lower will be the level of participation. As is well known, some seventy to eighty per cent of Canadians vote in federal and provincial elections, but only some eleven per cent or so take part in campaign activities or in any other form of political action. The comments of William Mishler, the foremost student of political participation in Canada, present a depressing verdict:

> Although lawyers, doctors, businessmen and other professionals constitute fewer than ten per cent of the Canadian work force, they occupy almost three-quarters of the seats in the House of Commons and two-thirds of the offices in local party organizations. Blue-collar workers, in contrast, comprise nearly half of the population but hold fewer than ten per cent of the positions either in local parties or in parliament.[14]

As Hodgetts and Gallagher put it: "Because the candidates and the minority who are really active in party politics are mainly from well-educated, middle-class backgrounds, the government is in the hands of people who are fairly satisfied with the status quo."[15]

Further, although Canada prides itself on its commitment to "peace, order and good government," compared to the more anarchic individualism sanctioned by "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", there are some signs that order and stability can be valued too highly. One psychologist recently found Canadians to be perhaps too trusting:

> . . . our studies indicate that a lot of Canadians will accept just about anything the authorities choose to do. We have to consider what this means for the future of our democratic institutions. Given the right circumstances — an

> economic or social crisis — we could wake up one day and find our rights and freedoms had been taken away.[16]

In fact, this is exactly what happened in October 1970 with the proclamation of the War Measures Act arousing remarkably little opposition. More recently, the MacDonald Commission's findings concerning R.C.M.P. activities aroused little concern.

One could go on multiplying such depressing evidence but the point is clear: there is at least a *prima facie* case for arguing that, judging by adult behavior, we have not been able to make full use of the schools' potential for political education. Indeed, a survey of "civic education" in ten countries recently concluded that "nowhere has the system proved capable of producing the ideal goal of a well-informed citizenry, with democratic attitudes and values, supportive of government policies and interested in civic affairs."[17] It is not clear why a well-informed citizen holding democratic attitudes and values should necessarily be supportive of government policies, but the conclusion nonetheless stands.

Radical sceptics might, of course, argue, and sometimes do, that the system has not failed at all. Rather, it has succeeded all too well. Their view is that the rhetoric of political participation and active involvement was never more than rhetoric. Even though people in the educational system might have taken it seriously, the real purpose of schools was not to produce informed involvement but complacent non-involvement, for in this way, the dominant elites could continue in power undisturbed. Thus, for example, one finds little serious discussion in many schools of alternatives to the prevailing liberal-democratic capitalism that prevails. Marxism will be discussed but only to show its failure or its impracticality. Anarchism will almost never appear. Socialism will be seen only as a combination of state planning and social welfare. And, indeed, any teacher who seriously promotes such alternatives to the conventional wisdom as anything more than an academic exercise runs the risk of censure. We all know of teachers who decided to take politics seriously with their students and got their fingers rapped in the process. There is, after all, a certain amount of truth in Althusser's description of the schools as part of the "ideological

state apparatus" although they undoubtedly possess more autonomy and independence than he allows.[18]

Were this not so, it would be difficult to explain the renewed interest in political education that has emerged in recent years. I have already argued that there is nothing new in thinking of education as political. Rather, what needs to be explained is the quaint notion that now prevails that education is not and should not be political. It was certainly not the view of the pioneers of compulsory schooling in Canada and elsewhere who were convinced of the connection between education and citizenship. However, there has arisen a renewed interest, one which takes political education and its commitment to participation in public life seriously. It takes various forms and pursues differing paths but follows a common goal, perhaps best described by Bernard Crick when he speaks of "political literacy":

> To have achieved political literacy is to have learned what the main political disputes are about, what beliefs the main contestants have of them, how they are likely to affect you and me. It also means that we are likely to be predisposed to try to do something about the issue in question in a manner which is at once effective and respectful of the sincerity of other people and what they believe.[19]

To put it briefly, the new approaches to political education concern themselves with political knowledge, with political attitudes and values (especially with an orientation to involvement and participation), and with political skills (especially the skills necessary for effective participation). They take the view that political education is crucial for effective democracy. Democracy is obviously a word that means different things to different people, but the key word is participation. As Carole Pateman puts it in *Participation and Democratic Theory,* a book which should be far better known to teachers than it is: "for a democratic polity to exist it is necessary for a participatory society to exist, i.e., a society where all political systems have been democratized and socialization through participation can take place in all areas."[20] In other words, democracy is more than a set of institutions or of constitutional guarantees: it

consists of maximum participation by all people at all levels.

Thus, several characteristics of older, more traditional approaches to political education are now being rejected. They are (1) the emphasis on governmental structures and institutions; (2) the preaching of a particular set of virtues; (3) the avoidance of controversy and conflict; (4) the ignoring of the lessons of what we have learned to call the hidden curriculum; and (5) the avoidance of action.[21]

In the past, political education, or civics as it might more accurately be called, concentrated heavily on factual descriptions of political institutions. Students learned to define bicameral, prorogation, speech from the throne, and the rest. They learned who could and could not vote and who was and was not eligible for election to office. In doing all this, however, they learned nothing about the realities, the processes and dynamics of politics. They learned that three readings of a bill in both houses, combined with the royal assent, make a law but they learned little or nothing about lobbies, pressure-groups, decision-making and all the factors that determine the evolution and shape of any particular law.

There are some obvious problems with this static approach. It ignores reality and to that extent is at least incomplete, if not dishonest. Further, since the media will portray and often distort these realities, students may well be made cynical by the gap between what they are taught, which is what is supposed to happen, and what they see, which is what they are told does happen. To dwell on institutions and structures can also be to cater to obsolescence, since they may well change during a student's lifetime. Finally, the whole procedure is neither very interesting for teachers to teach nor for students to learn.

Instead, newer approaches to political education have dwelt upon issues and upon case-studies of particular problems as a way to overcome these difficulties, to arouse students' interest, to inject a note of reality and to provide skills and insights which are not doomed to obsolescence. Similarly, instead of preaching particular values, of simply expounding a set of civic virtues, newer approaches to political education open up the whole question for examination and discussion. Instead of teaching students that 'X' is

good and 'Y' is bad, newer approaches invite them to inquire into the whole question of the criteria of goodness and badness. To take a particular example, rather than teach students why we need laws, the approach would be to raise the question of whether we need laws at all, so that prejudgements and prior assumptions are avoided as much as possible.

In doing this, one inevitably stimulates controversy and conflict and thus flies in the face of what was largely a consensual approach in more traditional methods of political education. In fact, this consensual approach is still very much with us. A 1979 text, written for Grades 5 and 6, defines government as "you and others working together to meet some of your needs."[22] In reality, of course, government cannot meet everyone's needs. Not all needs are, in any case, acceptable or legitimate, hence such recurrent problems as censorship and abortion. Indeed, governments may well take action to prevent people from meeting what they see as their needs. Again, people's needs may conflict, so that governments have to make decisions which will please some groups but not others or try to avoid making decisions at all, in the style of Mackenzie King. There is a further refinement, as we can learn from the record of interventionist governments, for governments can decide to meet needs that we did not even know we had got. None of this is particularly controversial, nor is it difficult to teach, since youngsters know a good deal about the language of needs ("Johnny, you need a haircut," "You need to go to the dentist," etc., etc.), but it does raise questions about conflict and the exercise of power which the consensual approach prefers to avoid.

Thus, this same 1979 text tells us that "Your Member of Parliament meets with other M.P.s in Canada's capital city, Ottawa. There, in a special room called the House of Commons, they run your government."[23] One can only reply: "Oh! No! They don't!" As M.P. Bill Blaikie once complained: "The minute we walk off the Hill, as far as our constituents and others are concerned, we are somebodies, because thousands and thousands of people voted to put us here. The minute we walk into this building, we become nobodies."[24] The danger with the consensual approach to teaching politics is not only that it is, at best, a half-truth, but that it may well

boomerang and produce, not informed citizens, but cynics, for what happens when youngsters see, as they inevitably will in this age of instant information, the contrast between what they are taught and what really happens? Hodgetts was surely right when he suggested that "the lack of realism in civics classes might help to develop unfounded cynicism."[25]

Politics, after all, is essentially about conflict. In Lasswell's classic definition, it is about who gets what, when and how. More technically, but with the same general meaning, Easton defines it as the "authoritative allocation of values." Crick calls it "the creative conciliation of differing interests." Running through all these definitions is the central problem of conflict and if students do not realize this they will probably forever dismiss politics as the irrelevant and regrettable preoccupation of selfish and self-seeking interests which all sensible people would do well to avoid.

One of the problems is how to teach youngsters about conflict and power in ways that they can understand and which will induce them to become involved. Here the newer approaches to political education turn to the hidden curriculum of classrooms and schools. They see politics as involving far more than government to embrace the whole concept of rules and authority, which in turn, imply power, enforcement, obedience, resistance and so on. Politics can thus be seen in the classroom, the family, in encounters among people. Hodgetts and Gallagher, for example, urge us

> . . . to capitalize on the everyday situations encountered by the children themselves which involve their own group decisions and choices. At home they encounter rules about their own conduct and at least sometimes share in the decisions made; at school and in the neighborhood they encounter other rules determined in different ways. . . . The informal analysis of such political situations are child related opportunities to develop understandings and senses of group responsibility and social obligation, of far more benefit than memorization of legalistic descriptions of government practices or abstract political concepts.[26]

This approach, which has been described as the politics-of-

everyday-life, has come to characterize many of the recent approaches to political education and possesses some obvious pedagogical advantages in its concreteness and familiarity to students.

To be effective, however, it has to be combined with a deliberate attempt to alter the context of political learning. It may well be, after all, that children learn more powerful political lessons from how they are taught — in all subjects — than from any particular lessons in politics. School discipline, for example, can teach students a good deal about the use and abuse of power and authority. One wonders about the political impact of classrooms where rules like these are posted, to take an actual example:

1. Students will follow the directions of all teachers and supervisors the first time.
2. Students shall be on time for class.
3. Students shall have all equipment and supplies at all times.
4. Students will keep their hands, feet and all other objects to themselves.
5. Students will practice good citizenship and courtesy to all students.[27]

The message that such rules convey is that students are not to be trusted and that they must above all else obey orders. The "good citizenship" mentioned in the last rule appears to consist of doing what you are told.

Indeed, it seems that most children learn to be dependent rather than autonomous, to assume what psychologists are calling a condition of "learned helplessness." They define the teacher's role as one of keeping order, giving instructions and evaluating performance. In the words of an English study: "children expect the teacher to act as the boss; to direct, initiate and control learning; to be judge and jury of work and conduct. . . ."[28] There is a good deal of evidence that independence, creativity, originality, autonomy are not highly valued in many classrooms. A fairly typical report card contains such headings as: gets along with others; uses time to good advantage; completes assignments; etc. There is not much scope here for autonomy and efficacy — political or otherwise.

The irony is that one learns to be active — politically or otherwise — by being active. If political education is seriously concerned with involvement and participation, as well as knowledge, it must pay attention to how students learn as well as what they learn. Not surprisingly, the research indicates that political competence and efficacy are aspects of a more generalized sense of competence: "persons who feel more effective in their everyday tasks and challenges are more likely to participate in politics."[29] To quote Almond and Verba:

> . . . if in most social situations the individual finds himself subservient to some authority figure, it is likely that he will expect such authority relationships in the political sphere. On the other hand, if outside the political sphere he has opportunities to participate in a wide range of social decisions, he will probably expect to be able to participate in political decisions as well. Furthermore, participation in non-political decision-making may give one the skills needed to engage in political participation.[30]

The implications of this for political learning and teaching need no elaboration.

Furthermore, there is evidence that teaching styles can make a difference. Sarah Lightfoot, for example, has shown that teachers' general outlooks on the world shape their philosophies which, in turn, influence their conceptions of good teaching and thus what they do in their classrooms. She describes two teachers: Teacher A who believed in hard work and getting ahead and who stressed orderliness, decorum and authority in the classroom, and Teacher B who gave more attention to student initiated activities, to student participation and freedom of choice, though without ever sacrificing structure and organization. Lightfoot found that these patterns revealed themselves in students' behaviour: "the approach and responsiveness of the children . . . reflected the educational goals and political philosophies that were unconsciously and explicitly expressed by their teachers," with the students of teacher B being more critical, confident and discriminating.[31]

Recent approaches to political education have for the most part taken this link between political learning and the hidden curriculum seriously and in some cases have taken political education outside the classroom altogether. There have been, to date, three ways of doing this. One is to use the school itself as an object of political analysis. A second is to reform the governance of schools so as to allow for more student participation. A third is to engage students in political activity outside the school.

Thus, one project uses the school as a political laboratory in which students examine the power structure, the process of decision-making and other political phenomena: "The school is viewed as a microcosm of political life and everyday experiences in leadership and decision-making are utilized both for study and for participation by students."[32] Having thus examined the politics of the school, students learn how to participate in them as a half-way stage to taking political action in the community.

The second approach argues that it is not enough simply to analyze the school unless the school itself is transformed into a model of the kind of politics one would like to see in the wider society. This approach takes seriously the finding of the Ten-Nation Survey that "perhaps a hierarchical organization such as the school is not the best setting for inculcating democratic values"[33] and argues that "if you want to develop morality or a sense of justice in kids, you have to create a just school, a just classroom environment."[34]

The third approach sees political education as best done, at least in part, through planned out-of-school experiences, emphasizing that the important task is not simply to understand and explain reality but to exert an impact upon it. Thus the curriculum must include organized out-of-school activities which will both lead students to reflect upon what they learn in the classroom and provide experiences which will improve their sense of competence. To this end, Conrad and Hedin propose five criteria for such activities: (1) that students have some responsibility for making their own decisions; (2) that other people depend on their actions; (3) that they work on tasks that strengthen their thinking both cognitively and ethically; (4) that they work with other age groups;

and (5) that they reflect systematically on their own experience.[35]

Whichever one of the newer approaches to political education one follows, whether one organizes a programme around issues, or concepts, or action inside or outside school, one is looking for a way of teaching politics which will be of some use to students throughout their lives. Mathematics provides a useful analogy, for when students learn to multiply, add, subtract and divide, or when they learn how to use a slide rule, they learn methods of solving problems which are of enduring value. Since most of the political problems that students will encounter will arise after they have left school, something similar is needed in political education. The Winnipeg Project in the teaching of politics has used a modified version of Easton's systems approach, applied to the politics of everyday life and combined with a participative approach to teaching, to achieve this. It aims to teach students the concepts, skills and dispositions necessary for effective participation in political life.[36] For this is the central thrust of all recent approaches to political education. They take seriously the age-old connection between education and citizenship and they define citizenship in terms of active involvement in political life, arguing that anything less makes democracy the plaything of the privileged and the powerful. As John Stuart Mill put it as long ago as 1861:

> . . . it is evident that the only government which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is one in which the whole people participate; that any participation, even in the smallest public function, is useful; that the participation should everywhere be as great as the general degree of improvement of the community will allow; and that nothing less can be ultimately desirable than the admission of all to a share in the sovereign power of the state.[37]

## II. CIVICS, CITIZENSHIP AND POLITICS: POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

### I

The last ten or fifteen years have seen an increasing interest in political education, especially in the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. Indeed, one writer recently described political education as "one of the major talking-points of the past eighteen months."[1] In Canada the call for a new look at political education came with the publication of Hodgetts' and Gallagher's *Teaching Canada for the '80's* and their recommendations for "a distinctively Canadian civic education."[2]

Coincident with, and a consequence of, this renewed interest in the topic, there has been an institutionalization and, to some extent, professionalization of political education. Two new journals have appeared: *Teaching Politics* and the *International Journal of Political Education*. Some half a dozen books have been published.[3] In the United Kingdom, two universities have established lectureships in political education and a third has a research unit. In addition, two local authorities have appointed advisers in political education.

In one sense, all of this is nothing new. From its very beginning education has had a political purpose. It has been intended to train the young to take their place within a particular society, to give them whatever skills, knowledge and values were thought neces-

sary for the continuation of their society. Durkheim was only stating a fact when he described education as

> The influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are required of him both by the political society as a whole and by the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.[4]

This kind of formulation, of course, ignores the divisions within society by speaking rather of society "as a whole" and thus ignores the role of education in enabling one group within a society to control or manipulate others. As Susan Houston has observed, "A common school system was an institution established and supported by one group of people not for their own children, but for the children of others."[5] Nonetheless, it makes its point: public education is and has been inevitably political. Its mandate is to train citizens, in the widest sense of the term. One can reasonably argue that Plato's *Republic* is still the classic text of political education.

Despite this long tradition, however, the recent interest in political education represents something new. If nothing else, it is giving new emphasis and directing renewed attention to the citizenship role of education. It is trying to define — or redefine — more precisely the nature of that citizenship and to suggest ways by which the schools can contribute more effectively to it. It is raising to the level of conscious awareness and deliberate planning many assumptions that have long been taken for granted and unexamined. In doing so, it is turning primarily to the academic discipline of political science for many of its concepts and frameworks and, at least by implication, is turning away from history, which has long been assigned the main role in citizenship training.

There can be little doubt that recent interest in political education is a response to developments which characterize western industrial societies generally. In particular, it is a response to what the Trilateral Commission prefers to describe as the "crisis of democracy" with all its suggestions that the liberal democratic

system has become ungovernable.[6] A recent ten-nation survey reports that "nowhere has the system proved capable of producing the ideal goal of a well-informed citizenry, with democratic attitudes and values, supportive of government policies and interested in civic affairs."[7] The inclusion of the phrase "supportive of government policies" in this list is intriguing. It does not fit with the others. Obviously, a well-informed, democratic and interested citizen need not be at all supportive of government policies. One wonders if the research team was simply cataloguing all the various aims of civic education, regardless of logical consistency, or whether it saw, in fact, some correlation between civic education and support for government.[8] In any event, it may indicate that civic education is intended to produce citizens who will be more supportive of their governments or, if not of their governments, then at least of their political systems. Certainly, the fear of "youth alienation" runs through much of the literature on political education. Supporters of the movement see it as making youngsters more understanding of the potential and limitations of politics, as leading them to participate in and become committed to a particular political system (or regime, to use Easton's terminology). At the same time, however, they tend to ignore those structural forces which are bearing most heavily on the young, and, in particular, those forces which are producing high levels of unemployment. Political education is in danger of treating the victims while ignoring the causes of their disease.

Before going any further, it will be best to devote a little time to semantics. Just what is political education? And how does it differ from civics or citizenship education? As already noted, in a very real sense all education is political and, to some extent, the phrase 'political education' is a tautology. At the same time, however, it also carries a more specific meaning. It refers to the attempt to teach people, in this case school students, about politics and the political system of which they are a part, with a view to making them more politically aware and to getting them to participate more effectively and more readily in the political arena. To use Milbrath's terms, it is an attempt to turn spectators and apathetics

into gladiators.[9] Thus, one recent project has coined the term 'political literacy':

> To have achieved political literacy is to have learned what the main political disputes are about, what beliefs the main contestants have of them, how they are likely to affect you and me. It also means that we are likely to be predisposed to try to do something about the issue in question in a manner which is at once effective and respectful of the sincerity of other people and what they believe.[10]

In a similar vein, a recent United States statement declares that

> . . . the goals of civic education should be knowledge of the political system and how it really and ideally works, development of the skills of participation in civic life, improvement of civic competence, commitment to values compatible with the principles which underlie democratic institutions and a capacity to analyze the consequences of these values, and development of self-esteem so that all individuals feel that their participation in civic life can make a difference.[11]

This represents a very ambitious agenda — far more, one suspects, than the schools can possibly achieve — but it is notable that both definitions speak of political knowledge, of skills and of values. The emphasis, more or less explicit, is upon what might best be described as 'civic competence'.

There are two strands to this view that political education should lead to a more highly political citizenry. One sees it as a way of saving the system. Alarmed by the persistent findings of alienation, apathy and cynicism among various sections of the population, and especially by the antipathy felt by many people for politics and for politicians,[12] some people hope that through more effective programmes of political education the system can be saved. As the last quotation puts it, individuals must "feel that their participation in civic life can make a difference." Hodgetts and Gallagher make a similar point when they note that "manifestations of social dislocations and dangerously high levels of tension in Canada are

readily apparent" and when they describe the "many signs of stress and discontent in Canadian society," concluding that "there can be little doubt of the continuing need . . . to recognize the possible disruption of democracy by internal stress; and to give more intensive consideration to the contribution civic education might make to society."[13] Clearly, this view sees political education as valuable for maintaining, and indeed improving, the political system, and perhaps even the political community itself, although it may well include at the same time a concern for the individual citizen.

The second strand takes no position on whether the system should or should not be preserved. It concentrates upon the individual citizen and sees a more broadly based and active political involvement as a matter of simple justice. If this results in radical political change, so be it. The first approach sees a wider citizen involvement in politics as a way of reducing alienation and cynicism and so preserving the system. The second sees it as simply worthwhile for its own sake. It accepts the premise of classical democratic theory that participation serves to educate and humanize those who participate. As Mishler has put it: "participation in whatever form is conducive to democracy; it strengthens individual self-esteem, broadens political understanding, and fosters tolerance and respect for political authority."[14] As this quotation suggests, there is no necessary contradiction between valuing citizen participation and valuing the maintenance of the political system of liberal democracy. One apparently leads to the other.[15] There is, however, a difference in emphasis upon each of the two strands in the political education movement: some projects and writers emphasizing the one, some the other.

Indeed, some see political education as a means to redress some of the inequities of the political system. It is well known, for example, that in most liberal democracies political participation and activism is heavily class-based. In Canada,

> Although lawyers, doctors, businessmen, and other professionals constitute fewer than ten per cent of the Canadian work force, they occupy almost three-quarters of the seats in the House of Commons and two-thirds of the offices in local party organizations. Blue-collar workers,

> in contrast, comprise nearly half of the population but hold fewer than ten per cent of the positions either in local parties or in parliament.[16]

Hodgetts and Gallagher draw a further conclusion from all this, commenting that "the government is in the hands of people who are fairly satisfied with the status quo."[17] There is, of course, a tradition in modern democratic theory which sees virtue in the passiveness of the majority, arguing that too much political involvement would politicize every issue and, so to speak, overload the system: "extreme interest goes with extreme partisanship and might culminate in rigid fanaticism that could destroy democratic processes if generalized throughout the system."[18] The wording is revealing: extreme, rigid, fanaticism — the words are hardly neutral. In addition, interest is too narrowly equated with partisanship and partisanship with fanaticism. There is another argument, however. The point that is being made here is that there is a tendency within political education which rejects the theory of elite democracy and which instead supports a much more participatory form in politics both as good in its own right and as a way of achieving greater social justice.

All this is to say that political education is itself highly political. It is the application in educational terms of a political philosophy. The same cannot be said, or not to the same etent, of another term which is often heard: 'civic education' or 'civics'. It is true that the term is being used nowadays with something of the same meaning as political education, but it has overtones which suggest a rather different approach. Thus, even when it is used, it is usually qualified or even apologized for. Ridley, for example, says of his proposals: "If the term had not come into such disrepute, I would call this civics rather than political education."[19]

In the past, civics meant little more than a factual knowledge of governmental and political institutions with a sprinkling of desirable social virtues. It was normative rather than analytical. Students, for example, were taught that a bill becomes a law by moving through three readings in both houses and by receiving royal assent; nothing was said about how a bill becomes a subject for legislation in the first place nor about how people work to further

their interests. Civics portrays a consensus view of politics in which questions of conflict and power play little part.

This approach is still very much alive and seems to be especially popular with teachers of younger children. Thus, a 1979 text written for Grades 5 and 6 defines government as "you and others working together to meet some of your needs."[20] In reality, of course, government cannot meet everyone's needs. Not all needs are, in any case, valid, legitimate or desirable, hence the recurrent controversies about such problems as abortion or censorship. Government may, in fact, act to prevent people from meeting their needs. Again, different people's needs may conflict, so that government has to make decisions which satisfy some groups but not others, or try to avoid making decisions at all in order to avoid possible crises, in the style of Mackenzie King according to some historians. There is a further refinement, as we are finding these days in connection with the energy question: there are needs which government claims to see more clearly than do the people, so that it sets out to deal with needs that people do not even know they have. Beyond all this, there exists a well-defined and coherent political philosophy that argues that government should not be meeting any but the most minimal needs anyway, since this is best left to individual initiative. Civics, however, generally ignores all this, probably because it raises questions about conflict and the exercise of power which, it is thought, are at best too controversial for the schools to handle or at worst will make youngsters unduly cynical. Thus, in the words of this same text, "Your Member of Parliament meets with other M.P.'s in Canada's capital city, Ottawa. There, in a special room called The House of Commons, they run your government."[21] One can only reply: "Oh! No! They don't!" The danger is not only that such descriptions are, at best, half-truths, but that they may boomerang and produce not informed citizens but cynics. What happens when children see, as they inevitably will in this age of instant information, the contrast between what they are taught and what really goes on? Some years ago Hodgetts suggested that "the lack of realism in civics classes might help to develop unfounded cynicism."[22]

In all this the classic Lasswell definition of politics as "who gets

what, when and how" (to which one ought to add, "and why") has no place. One is tempted to say that civics or civic education is political education without the politics.

The third term which is often used — citizenship education — is even more a-political. Cary has distinguished between "state citizenship," which he sees as an "individual's relation to the political system." and "societal citizenship" which describes "an individual's relationship to the social system, a system not necessarily coterminous with the political system."[23] Most proponents of citizenship education espouse the latter rather than the former, so that citizenship education embraces the whole range of socially useful and desirable qualities that youngsters should acquire. Thus, a recent *Handbook of Basic Citizenship Competencies* categorizes the goals of citizenship education under seven headings: acquiring and using information; assessing involvement; making decisions; making judgments; communicating; co-operating; promoting interests.[24] Clearly, there is much here that is 'political', but there is no specific reference to politics or the political system as such. It is true, as political scientists have often pointed out, that politics is not to be equated with government, that one can legitimately speak of the politics of the classroom, the family and so on, but the fact remains that these seven "basic citizenship competencies" will not necessarily entice people to become active beyond, say, the confines of the parent-teacher association or the community club.

All three approaches — politics, civics, and citizenship — can often be found in recent discussions of political education, which contain a varying mixture of concern for political efficacy and participation, for greater civic knowledge and commitment, for a heightened sense of community and social obligation, and for the improvement of the political system. It is usually assumed, however, that all this can be done within the political system as it is. Nearly all the discussions of political education accept the political system as a given fact and aim at teaching students to play their part actively and effectively within it. To this extent, at least, political education may be more accurately described as political socialization. Most discussions, for instance, see politics as an

arena in which all are potentially free to compete on more or less equal terms, with government serving as a neutral arbiter whose main concern is to enforce the rules of the game. Thus, Hodgetts and Gallagher point out that "a great many Canadians, particularly those who might gain from change, sit on the sidelines, exerting little influence over government yet being subject to a multitude of its decisions."[25] In other words, the game is there for playing; all that is needed is to become involved, to become a player rather than a spectator. This, of course, is the standard liberal view of the state and certainly students should be familiar with it, although it would more accurately be taught as ideology rather than as fact. What rarely appears in all the discussion of political education is the view that sees the state not as the impartial umpire between competing interests, but very much as a player in the game. The concept that the state is concerned with the promotion of a particular set of interests to the exclusion of others is not a popular one in political education. Indeed, at times the state is portrayed not even as neutral, but as downright benevolent: "More than anything else they (i.e. governments) try to produce equality of opportunity for all people."[26]

## II

Recent work in political education, however, does take a more realistic view of politics than has hitherto been the case. In particular, it does not shirk the fact that conflict is at the very root of politics. As Hodgetts and Gallagher put it, "politics is often about disagreements and controversy; where there is general agreement there need be no real political activity."[27]

However it is done, the teaching of politics has to be organized according to some framework. It has to avoid becoming little more than a catalogue of political facts. One of the difficulties of teaching politics in schools is that, for the vast majority of students, any political activity in which they become involved will occur after they have left school. From a student's viewpoint, politics is mostly in the future. Thus, it is important to teach politics in such a way that students will be able to use what they learn after they have

learned it. This is all the more necessary because political knowledge changes over the years: institutions, personalities, problems come and go. It is crucial, therefore, to give students some key with which to unlock the complexities of politics.[28]

One solution to this problem is to organize a programme not around political institutions but around issues. This possesses some obvious advantages: issues are, by definition, about conflict and thus embody the central question of politics; they can usually be made relevant to contemporary affairs and to students' own concerns; they embody controversy and thus encourage a style of teaching which allows students to pursue their own opinions and arguments. The *Canadian Public Issues* programme, for example, has two major goals: one, to enhance students' understanding of Canada through "active discussion of its major social conflicts" and, two, to teach the "skills necessary for the analysis and discussion and resolution of such conflicts."[29] The notion that these conflicts are susceptible to 'resolution' in the classroom is rather optimistic, but analysis and discussion can certainly be achieved. The programme is organized around a series of contemporary issues in Canadian society, such as foreign ownership, censorship, the rights of youth. Beyond teaching youngsters the skills needed to analyze such problems, the programme also attempts to promote a sense of political efficacy by going beyond the usual questions of how? and why? to ask also, why should?

> In effect, the very asking of WHY SHOULD — questions involves the students in the decision-making process and in a sense forces students to become active participants in the decision-making process.[30]

The intent is laudable, although one wonders how exploring in a classroom what decisions should be made will, in fact, get students more actively involved in anything. To discuss what should be done about nuclear power, for example, is one thing; to have any kind of impact upon the actual decision-makers, even more to become an "active participant in the decision-making process" is quite another.

A programme organized around issues is open to at least two

objections: one, that it does not provide enough basic knowledge about political institutions, and two, that issues are often transitory and dissimilar so that learning how to analyze some issues may not transfer to others. The first can be overcome fairly simply for there is no obvious contradiction involved in incorporating some basic knowledge of institutions into an issue-based programme. The second is trickier but an answer is suggested by the example of the *Harvard Social Studies Project*, which uses what it calls 'persisting issues'. The argument is that topics that generate controversy today may be as dead as the dodo tomorrow or the day after, so that it is next to impossible to forecast what problems will arise during a person's lifetime. However, just about every conceivable political controversy revolves around a number of persisting issues which are as old as society itself. Two examples are the issues of the public interest vis-à-vis the private good and of cultural variety vis-à-vis the melting pot. The Harvard programme illustrates these persisting issues by means of case-studies, some of which are historical and some contemporary. For example, the development of railways in the nineteenth century U.S.A. becomes a case-study of private vs. public interests; the American War of Independence is used to illustrate the question of working inside or outside the law to bring about change; Nazi Germany raises questions of individual responsibility.

Both programmes envisage a particular kind of citizen, one who can handle issues rationally and objectively, who knows how to discuss, listen and argue, who thinks reflectively and who has a sense of social responsibility. This is to say that both programmes are more concerned with skills and dispositions than with knowledge as such. One may legitimately question whether any kind of programme that confines itself to the classroom, no matter how innovative, can achieve all this. To analyze, discuss and talk about an issue is one thing; to do something about it is quite another. It is extremely doubtful whether one will lead to the other. Further, although a successful issues-based programme may indeed teach skills and dispositions, it will not give students any general view of what politics is all about. Unless it is systematically taught, they will not learn what makes the political machinery tick.

This is also a problem, though to a lesser extent, with another organizational framework for political education programmes, one which uses not issues but concepts. Here the concern is to isolate the major concepts or fundamental ideas which will make sense of a large amount of detailed information. Most programmes that have done this have turned to the academic discipline of political science as the source of concepts. Fenton, for example, in a programme called *Comparative Political Systems*, uses a selection of fundamental concepts, usually drawn from the academic disciplines, combined with questions involving analysis, to arrive at what he describes as "analytical concepts".[33] These form the basis of the curriculum. For Fenton, concepts involve questions and the usefulness of concepts lies in the questions which they generate. For example, he takes the concept of political leadership and shows that it contains a whole series of questions: how are leaders recruited? What are their personal characteristics? How do they gain and maintain support from their followers? How can a citizen gain access to them? The sources of such questions lie in the social sciences and, for Fenton, it is impossible to design a worthwhile political studies programme without using the findings, the concepts and the methods of the social sciences.

The *Comparative Political Systems* project is organized around five major concepts: leadership; decision-making; institutions; ideology; citizenship. In turn, of course, each of these can be further subdivided, so that the concept of decision-making, for example, can be broken down into such questions as: Who make the decisions? What forces influence their decisions? What is the process for making decisions? Each of these questions can then be further broken down, and so on. The important point is Fenton's insistence that in politics, and in the social sciences generally, the students must be taught "analytical questions". Only in this way, will they ever be able to make sense of politics for themselves.

At the same time, simply knowing what questions to ask is not enough unless one also has some skill in asking them. More than anyone else, Fenton has systematized the idea of a method of inquiry, which, he insists, must be taught to students. It is not something only for the guidance of teachers to help them organize

their teaching. Nor is it something to be introduced to students indirectly, in the wake of, or as part of, some other topic. Rather, it is to be taught to them directly and explicitly and at the same time built into all the work they do, so that they are required to use it in every topic or unit. In simplified form, it looks like this:

1. Recognizing a problem.
2. Formulating hypotheses.
3. Recognizing the implications of the hypotheses.
4. Gathering data.
5. Interpreting data.
6. Evaluating the original hypotheses.

Fenton's use of both a method of inquiry and of analytical concepts naturally led him to emphasize inquiry/discovery strategies. He describes his approach as "inductive", since it consists of giving students data from which they are to generate hypotheses and even generalizations.

It is worth noting that Fenton rejected the legal — institutional approach to political education and instead focussed on a small number of concepts which he applied to all the political systems to be studied. The goal, of course, was that students would learn to formulate their own political questions and hence have a richer awareness of the political world.

Since the programme was completed Fenton seems to have concluded that it suffered from two weaknesses. First, it did not pay enough attention to the findings of cognitive developmental research, with the result that the programme was pitched at a level of abstraction which youngsters often found unnecessarily difficult. Second, it was too academic in its orientation, in the sense that it emphasized intellectual processes but ignored questions of values and affect. Thus, Fenton is now working with Kohlberg in applying Kohlberg's work in moral reasoning and moral development to political education.[34]

In some ways similar to Fenton, the programme in *American Political Behavior* also rejects the legal-institutional-historical approach typical of much of the teaching of politics in schools. It opts instead for the behavioural approaches characteristic of contemporary North American political science. As its very title indicates,

it stresses political behaviour.[35] Thus, it deals with the relationships between behaviour and social forces and focusses upon political culture; political socialization; social class; status; role and decision-making. From this emerges a course, aimed at Grade IX students, consisting of five units:

1. Introduction to the Study of Political Behaviour.
2. Similarities and Differences in Political Behaviour (culture; socialization; socioeconomic status and the relationship of all three to political behaviour; also political loyalty and alientation).
3. Elections and Voting Behaviour.
4. Political Decision-makers (*viz.*, president, congressmen and women; bureaucrats and judges).
5. Unofficial Political Specialists (*viz.*, interest-group leaders; news commentators; expert consultants; party leaders).

Notably absent in all this is anything more than the barest bones of the institutional or historical aspects of the political system which have traditionally dominated school curricula.

Both *Comparative Political Systems* and *American Political Behaviour* derive their organizing ideas from political science. In contrast, a British project has rejected this in favour of a set of concepts drawn from "common-sense". This British project in *Political Literacy* (PLP), moreover, sees no merit in turning to political science: "we plan to build from the bottom up by examining early perceptions of politics in non-academic contexts." The argument is that "academic" concepts are simply not necessary for the job at hand: "We do not need to go beyond the language of everyday life to understand and participate in the politics of everyday life and all those things that affect it." In large part this reflects P.L.P.'s concern to work at the level of students. However, it also reflects the anti-behavioural science outlook of one of P.L.P.'s prime movers, Professor Bernard Crick: "My suggested concepts . . . are drawn from the tradition of political philosophy far more than from political science or political sociology."[36]

P.L.P. sees the study of politics as consisting of three elements:

(1) government, (2) the people, and (3) the relationships between them. These are further refined as suggested by the following diagram (Diagram 1).[37]

**Government**

| Power | Force | Authority | Order |
|---|---|---|---|
| The ability to achieve an intended effect either by force or more usually by claims to authority | Physical pressure or use of weapons to achieve an intended effect — latent in all government, constant in none | Respect and obedience given by virtue of an institution group or person fulfilling a function agreed to be needed and in which he or it has superior knowledge or skill | When expectations are fulfilled and calculations can be made without fear of all the circumstances and assumptions changing |

**Relationship**

| Law | Justice | Representation | Pressure |
|---|---|---|---|
| The body of general rules made, published and enforced by governments and recognized as binding by the government even if not as just | What is due to people as the result of some process accepted as fair irrespective of the outcome | The claim for the few to represent the many because they embody some external attribute of which popular consent is only one of many | All the means by which government and people influence each other, other than by Law or by Force |

**People**

| Natural rights | Individuality | Freedom | Welfare |
|---|---|---|---|
| The minimum conditions for proper human existence prior even to legal and political rights | What we perceive as unique to each man and to mankind to be distinguished from individualism, a purely 19th century doctrine | The making of choices and doing things of public significance in a self-willed and uncoerced way | The belief that the prosperity and happiness of individuals and communities is a concern of government not merely mere survival |

From B. Crick and A. Porter, *Political Education and Political Literacy*, London, 1978, p. 62.

Here then, is a conceptual framework for teaching politics which is somewhat different from those previously discussed. For the organizers of the Political Literacy Project this represents what politics is all about and what students should come to understand. However, this project is concerned with political "literacy", which goes beyond knowledge and understanding to include skills, values and a commitment to participation.

The actual content of the programme is to consist of issues or problems. The task of curriculum development will then be to combine the conceptual treatment of politics outlined above with an examination of contemporary political disputes. So far as this latter task is concerned, the Political Literacy Project offers an interesting model, as shown in the following diagrams (Diagrams II and III).[38] The right-hand columns of this diagram deal with participation and action skills. However, it seems that these could become more a matter of discussion and analysis than of direct experience. Although the Political Literacy Project advocates participation — "informed and orderly participation, not any old participation, is needed" — it says very little about how to prepare students to participate, whether it be a matter of encouraging in them the disposition to participate or of teaching them the necessary skills.

This dimension of political education has been taken furthest by a project in the United States, sponsored by the American Political Science Association, called *Comparing Political Experiences*.[14] This project has taken seriously the research findings concerning the lack of impact of most civics and politics curricula and of the low levels of popular political participation. As a result, its proposals are the most far-reaching of any project yet undertaken in departing from the conventional approaches to classroom teaching. It emphasizes the importance of political participation and aims to raise the levels and quality of political participation among young people of school-leaving age. Its goal is "to provide students with sufficient experience in analyzing and acting in political situations that they will develop habits of participation which will transfer into their everyday lives." To this end, the project com-

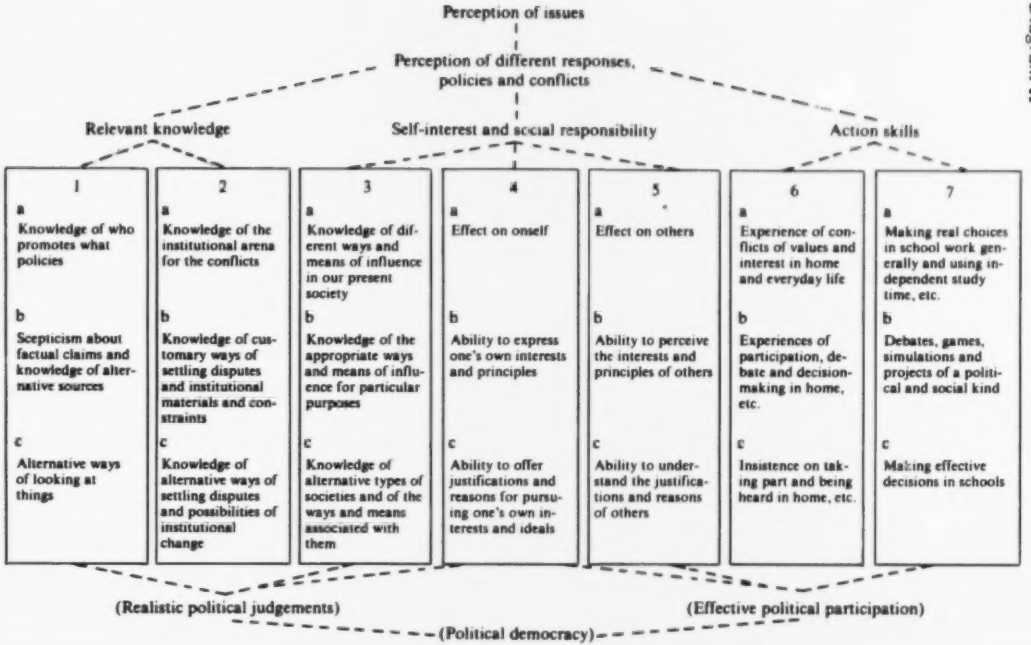
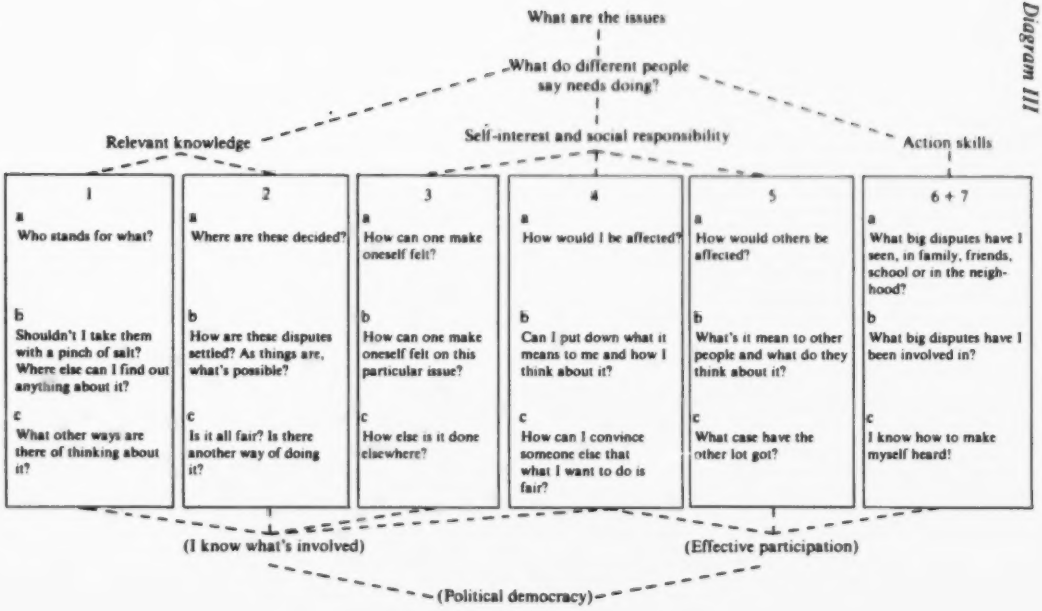

Perception of issues
Perception of different responses, policies and conflicts
Relevant knowledge
Self-interest and social responsibility
Action skills
1
a
Knowledge of who promotes what policies
b
Scepticism about factual claims and knowledge of alternative sources
c
Alternative ways of looking at things
2
a
Knowledge of the institutional arena for the conflicts
b
Knowledge of customary ways of settling disputes and institutional materials and constraints
c
Knowledge of alternative ways of settling disputes and possibilities of institutional change
3
a
Knowledge of different ways and means of influence in our present society
b
Knowledge of the appropriate ways and means of influence for particular purposes
c
Knowledge of alternative types of societies and of the ways and means associated with them
4
a
Effect on onself
b
Ability to express one's own interests and principles
c
Ability to offer justifications and reasons for pursuing one's own interests and ideals
5
a
Effect on others
b
Ability to perceive the interests and principles of others
c
Ability to understand the justifications and reasons of others
6
a
Experience of conflicts of values and interest in home and everyday life
b
Experiences of participation, debate and decision-making in home, etc.
c
Insistence on taking part and being heard in home, etc.
7
a
Making real choices in school work generally and using independent study time, etc.
b
Debates, games, simulations and projects of a political and social kind
c
Making effective decisions in schools
(Realistic political judgements)
(Effective political participation)
(Political democracy)

*Diagram III*


What are the issues
What do different people say needs doing?
Relevant knowledge
Self-interest and social responsibility
Action skills
1
a
Who stands for what?
b
Shouldn't I take them with a pinch of salt? Where else can I find out anything about it?
c
What other ways are there of thinking about it?
2
a
Where are these decided?
b
How are these disputes settled? As things are, what's possible?
c
Is it all fair? Is there another way of doing it?
3
a
How can one make oneself felt?
b
How can one make oneself felt on this particular issue?
c
How else is it done elsewhere?
4
a
How would I be affected?
b
Can I put down what it means to me and how I think about it?
c
How can I convince someone else that what I want to do is fair?
5
a
How would others be affected?
b
What's it mean to other people and what do they think about it?
c
What case have the other lot got?
6 + 7
a
What big disputes have I seen, in family, friends, school or in the neighhood?
b
What big disputes have I been involved in?
c
I know how to make myself heard!
(I know what's involved)
(Effective participation)
(Political democracy)

bines the study of a number of important concepts (though "without attempting to cover the political discipline in any systematic way") with an elaborate programme of training for and experience in participation experiences.

The unique aspect of *Comparing Political Experiences* is its careful working out of what is involved in political participation and in teaching it. It sees participation as depending upon possession of a range of skills and thus demanding careful training. The project specifies that students be trained in role-behaviour and learn how to act as observers, supporters, advocates, facilitators and organizers in group-settings. In addition, they learn and apply the skills involved in decision-making, bargaining, task-implementation and conflict-management. Having learned and practised these skills in carefully supervised, non-threatening environments, students then practise them in various school settings (clubs, committees, and so on). Eventually, they have to move outside the school and practise what they have been taught in various community settings. To put this another way, students begin the programme by learning how to analyze and participate in the politics of the school (C.P.E. sees the school as a "political laboratory"), and then by way of a carefully gradated series of experiences move out into the politics of the community.

All these projects share certain common features and have much to say to anyone interested in the teaching of politics. It is clear that political education, as understood in recent years, has become very different from old-style civics. These differences can best be represented in tabular form.

| **Traditional Civics** | **Recent Approaches to Political Education** |
|---|---|
| Concentrates on government to the neglect of other aspects of politics | Concentrates on politics and the political system of which government is only a part |
| Emphasizes the formal structure and institutions of government | Emphasizes political processes and behaviour — the political culture |
| Focusses on government at the federal and provincial levels; has a | Includes local and 'informal' political contexts (e.g. the school, |

| | |
|---|---|
| 'macro-orientation' | the family, the community) |
| Describes the ideal or what is supposed to happen | Describes what actually or really happens |
| Stresses consensus; downplays or avoids conflict | Sees conflict (which is not the same as violence) as the core of politics |
| Emphasizes factual knowledge and the one right answer | Emphasizes personal opinion and argument |
| Relies mostly on conventional teaching methods (textbook; chalk and talk; etc.) | Uses discovery/inquiry strategies Increasing attention being paid to action-projects |
| Tends to avoid current controversies; reluctant to bring politics into the classroom | Emphasizes current controversies either as worth studying in their own right to as examples of enduring themes |
| Uses commonsense categories and knowledge; relies heavily on history | Turns to the academic discipline of political science for concepts and insights |
| Sees 'good citizenship' as a set of specific virtues to be inculcated | Sees 'good citizenship' as a topic for analysis and debate, although insists upon certain procedural values |
| Postulates the informed voter as the most desirable model of political participation | Goes beyond voting to more active forms of participation |
| Largely ignores the impact of the hidden curriculum (school rules, classroom climate, teacher attitudes, etc.) | Is very conscious of the impact of the hidden curriculum and works to remodel it |
| Promotes (often implicitly) obedience, trust, conformity | Promotes personal autonomy; efficacy, a critical spirit, a suspicion of powerholders |
| Tends to avoid normative questions of what might be, avoids value-issues | Emphasizes value-issues; raises normative and ethical concerns |

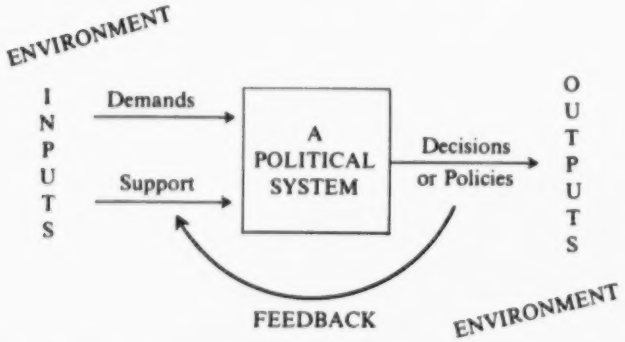
This review of recent projects in the teaching of politics contains a number of useful lessons. For example, one needs to have some

conception of politics in order to be sure what it is that one should be teaching. All of these projects see politics in terms of conflict and its management, a mundane enough point, but one which many textbooks still avoid. Secondly, one needs to have some kind of conceptual framework upon which to base the curriculum, in order to avoid a headlong dash into descriptions of political institutions which more often than not serve simply to confuse students. Third, the academic discipline of political science can serve as an invaluable source of information and insight in connection with both the previous points. This is even more important than it seems, given the fact that many of the teachers charged with teaching politics in schools have little or no political science training, being trained either as elementry school teachers or as history teachers. This, of course, is not to say that history is not a valuable — indeed, a necessary — component of any political education worth the name, but all of the projects reviewed here relied on political science for many of their concepts and approaches.

There is, however, another approach which may have more to offer and this is to organize a programme around the idea of a political system. The best known version of a systems approach is that of Professor David Easton.[40] At its simplest, Easton sees a political system as a process by which inputs are converted into outputs, with these outputs in turn influencing further inputs. For example, any political system has two kinds of inputs: one, demands made by citizens that some decision or another should be made (or annulled), and two, a generalized feeling of support for, or opposition to, the system. In a Canadian context, there are obviously many kinds of demands being made in the political arena and these demands will often turn into political issues. At the same time there is a high level of general support (or diffuse support as Easton calls it) for the political system of parliamentary democracy so that, even when people's demands are not satisfied, they continue to support it. In other societies, of course, this may not be at all the case, so that dissatisfied demands lead to alienation from, rejection of, and even struggle to overthrow the whole system. Thus, one can envisage a five-step model of political analysis: one, the environment within which the political system exists and which

influences people's attitudes to and expectations of it; two, the inputs which enter the system; three, the process of converting inputs into outputs (i.e., policy formulation, decision-making and so forth); four, the outputs of the system, in the form of decisions and policies; and, five, the feedback process by which these decisions and policies create further inputs.

Diagrammatically, it all looks something like this:[41]




This has obvious appeal as a teaching device, since students can apply it to any political system, past, present and future, and, in consequence, have a key for unlocking the complexity of events. For instance, the diagram has proved to be useful in helping students conceptualize and make some sense out of the confusion of events (as they see it) that go to making the French Revolution.

Easton went further than this and elaborated upon what he saw as the fundamental ideas (the "structure") of political science. In summary, they are these:

1. People in a society have many wants.
2. Some of these wants are matters for the political system (as opposed, say, to the family system, the economic system, etc.).

3. As wants enter the political system, they become political demands.
4. These demands are screened by "gatekeepers" (e.g., trades unions, political parties, interest groups, etc.). Some are screened out, but others go on to become political issues.
5. These issues are affected by existing cleavages in the political arena so that people take sides and form opinions.
6. The authorities translate these issues into binding decisions (laws, policies, etc.). In this context, a decision not to do anything on an issue remains a binding decision.
7. These decisions create positive or negative support for different levels of the system. In this regard, Easton usefully distinguishes between the political community (e.g., the national group, and country or region); the regime (i.e., the particular political or constitutional apparatus) and the authorities (i.e., those who happen to be in power).
8. Also, these decisions generate new wants which seek once again to enter the political system.[42]

Here, then, is an attempt to simplify and clarify the fundamental ideas of political science so that they can be adapted for school curricula. In particular, it is an attempt to elucidate the concept of a political *system,* as opposed to some of the other projects discussed in this section which concentrate rather on issues, problems or concepts. The underlying supposition is that if students learn to analyze one political system they will know how to analyze others, thus reducing and simplifying the complexity of politics.

Obviously, the concept of a political system, especially if it is expressed in pure Eastonian language, will not hold the interest of most school students. It is too abstract for them to understand without some concrete aids. The technical language of interest articulation; interest aggregation; regulative, extractive, distributive and responsible functions; and all the rest are clearly of little service in the classroom. This is, of course, no criticism of the

political scientists themselves. They are not writing for school students. However, it is important to turn their insights into language that youngsters can understand. The goal is to enable students to understand how political systems work, and for this they need some vehicle by which to arrive at the abstract ideas involved. For this purpose, issues and problems are extremely useful.

The obvious drawback to studying issues for their own sake is that, with some exceptions, they will not last forever. What is relevant and contemporary this year may well not be two or three years from now. For example, the Pearson government's decision to introduce a distinctively Canadian flag in 1965 was a burning issue in its day. It needed a very strong-minded teacher indeed to avoid it. The media gave it prominence; *Hansard* was full of it for weeks; many and various groups had their say; Prime Minister Pearson was given a rough but newsworthy reception at a Legion convention; and so on. However, any students who studied it will have learned little of ultimate value unless the issue was set in a much wider context of political analysis — unless, in short, the flag issue was treated as a case-study of, say, political conflict or decision-making. On its own, it was interesting but not likely to tell students very much about how politics works.

To argue that the concept of political system should be the foundation of a politics curriculum is not, of course, to argue for the traditional rehearsal of the institutions of government which for so long characterized civics. Nor is it to accept the conservatism that some critics have charged is inherent in the functionalism of the systems approach. Rather, what is being argued here is that we need some analytical framework to help students understand how political systems work. Upon this framework, they can then build whatever specific structure they wish to examine: Soviet, American, Canadian and the rest. The point is that they should see the forest despite all the trees. The aim is that they acquire a key to unlock whatever political mysteries they encounter.

All these considerations point to Easton's approach to the analysis of political systems as being worthy of serious examination. Admittedly, the model has to be simplified to the point where a self-respecting political scientist may cringe in horror, but simplifi-

cation lies at the heart of good teaching. And, in its essentials, stripped down to the bare bones, Easton's analysis is both simple and persuasive. Just as important, experience — albeit personal rather than scientific — suggests that it can work with students. The essentials, as described earlier, are five:

1. The *environment* within which the political system exists and with which it interacts.
2. The *inputs* that enter the political system.
3. The *conversion process* by which the inputs are turned into outputs.
4. The *outputs* of the political system.
5. The *feedback loop* by which those outputs in turn create further inputs or modify existing inputs.

The language is rather arid. It might be helpful to see what is involved in practice. What follows is not exhaustive and could certainly be presented differently but it does indicate how the examination of a political issue can be used to show the workings of the political system. In the long run, hopefully, students will then learn to apply the analytical framework themselves. The basic idea is that an issue arises in the environment, becomes an input into the political system and is then converted into an output which has further impact upon the environment — and so on.

### 1. The Environment

1. Why is the subject an issue at all? What is there in society at large that makes this particular topics (say capital punishment) an issue at this particular time? For instance, is there a precipitating incident? Do the media draw attention to the issue? Does some group or individual agitate upon it for whatever reason?

2. What are the stands taken on the issue? Who holds what viewpoints? What group identifications are noticeable — e.g. by class, religion, ethnicity, occupation, region, etc? Why do people take the stands they do — e.g. the influence of parents, friends, church, media, etc? What functions do opinions and attitudes serve for those who hold them — e.g. prestige, group-identification, scapegoating, reduction of dissonance, etc?

**2. Inputs**

1. How does the issue enter the political arena? For example, what pressure-groups exist and how do they operate? Do the media have a role? What part is played by politicians and political parties (e.g. do they take up an issue and promote it)?
2. Once an issue is in the political arena, what happens? For example, what alliances are formed? What arguments are advanced? What is done to publicize the issue or some group's view of it?
3. What demands are made for government action? How? By whom?
4. What are people's general feelings about both the government and the political system? How do these feelings affect their thinking and acting on a particular issue?

**3. The Conversion of Inputs into Outputs**

1. What is the response of those in power? For example, do they try to ignore the issue, to block it, to take a stand, to find a compromise, to seek a way out?
2. Who is in power anyway? Who are the decision-makers: elected representatives or permanent officials? Which particular members of the decision-making groups have influence and why?
3. What forces influence those in power? For example, how were they recruited? What is their background? To whom do they listen? What considerations other than the issue itself do they have to worry about?
4. What are the procedures — official and unofficial — by which decisions are made?

**4. Output**

1. What decision (law, policy, etc.) finally emerges?

**5. Feedback**

1. How does this decision affect the various groups initially involved? For example, are they satisfied? Do they undertake further action?
2. How does this decision affect people not previously involved? For example, people who did not care too much about the original issue may have very strong feelings about the decision made to settle it. If so, what happens?
3. How does the decision affect the decision-makers? For example, is their political future more or less certain? How are they perceived by the people at large? Are their bases of support altered, strengthened, weakened?
4. How does the decision affect the political system at large? Is people's faith in the system affected? Do they support it less or more? What further demands are created?

Not for a minute is it suggested that this outline and all the questions it contains are either especially elegant or exhaustive. Indeed, the questions and sub-questions can be multiplied almost indefinitely. Nonetheless, whatever its imperfections, the approach does suggest a way by which students can be led from the study of some particular issues to a wider consideration of how a political system works and, along the way, they will also necessarily consider various dimensions of political behaviour.

At its best, this approach may give students an intellectual grasp of politics; it will enhance their understanding and insight. It will not, however, do anything directly to develop any sense of political efficacy, let alone lead to greater political participation. One may reasonably assume that no course of study by itself will achieve this. Rather, as argued earlier, political efficacy and competence are aspects of a wider sense of personal effectiveness and this is achieved not so much by studying anything as by acting upon things. It is this that makes how we teach politics to students as important as what we teach them.

## III

Politics generally demands (even if it does not always get) what Peel calls "explainer" or Piaget "formal operational" thought.[43] Political discussion is laden with such abstract terms as "radical", "conservative", "individualism", "civil liberties" — terms which many students find difficult even to begin to understand. In addition, political discussion often hinges upon complex and abstract concepts such as 'national interest', 'minority rights', 'social welfare'. More complicated yet, these concepts often have to be weighed against each other and a balance struck. Conflicting ideas and considerations have to be resolved. Understandably, all this is difficult for youngsters to grasp even in adolescence.

However, before leaping to the conclusion that politics is simply too difficult a topic to teach to students, one important but often overlooked caveat should be noted. The developmental research indicates what students, in fact, do, not what they are capable of doing, or might do under other circumstances. It may well be that students' thinking, especially in a classroom context when responding to classroom problems, is as much a response to the way they have been taught and to their expectations of the classroom as to any developmental factors. The question that remains is this: do students fail to handle open-ended questions properly because of some developmental factor or because they are simply not accustomed to having to deal with them in school? The classroom, after all, is one of the very few places in the world where, when someone asks a question, he or she already knows the answer. "What is the name of the Prime Minister, Fred?" is really a question asking whether Fred has done his homework; it is a way of checking on Fred, as he very well knows.

In short, while the developmental research tells us what students are currently doing, it does not tell us what they might do in different circumstances. In this regard, Vygotsky's distinction between levels of actual and potential development is crucial, as is his insistence that it is the teacher's job to operate between the two.[44] The big danger of the developmental research is that it will

lead teachers to pace their instruction so that it follows *after* the process of development rather than interacting with it.

The very nature of politics demands that we prefer certain approaches over others. If, for example, we take democratic principles seriously, then politics are a matter for investigation, discussion and analysis, not for authoritative declaration or pronunciamento. In short, the lecture method may well be appropriate when students have to learn some factual information, or when they need to have a point of view explained, but sooner or later they will have to do their own investigating, to form — and, more important, to test — their own opinions. To return to an earlier point, politics are about differences and conflict and thus presume argument and discussion. It is not so much a matter of whether discussion is more or less effective than lecture, as that the subject matter and the very nature of politics demand discussion and inquiry. Students have to cease being the more or less passive recipients of someone else's information and begin to see their own ideas as worth examining. Teachers need to take seriously the implications of this definition of relevance:

> Relevance is not a matter of adapting a subject to the apparent interests of a pupil on to the apparent fashions of the moment. Relevance is achieved by assuming that a pupil or student has something to contribute to the subject. Relevance at its deepest has nothing to do with subject matter; it has to do with the status of the learner in relation to what is being learned.[45]

Assuming that a student has something to contribute can work wonders, but it is not just a matter of blind faith. Obviously, classroom climate and quality of teacher-student relationships are vital. There are, generally speaking, three ingredients in successful teaching: expertise in one's subject, pedagogical skill and empathy with students. If this last quality is missing, then students will obviously be unwilling to contribute much of anything. It is important to work with what students already know — and if one thinks of politics in conceptual terms as power, authority, obligation,

rights, fairness and the rest, then there is no problem in linking politics to what even young children know.

One approach to the whole question is to see politics as involving far more than government. To quote one political scientist,

> Politics is a basic human activity which makes it appearance wherever there are rules. It may be seen in a small compass in a tennis club or a dramatic society, and in its widest scope in the manoeuverings of the cold war.[46]

Politics are about rules, which, of course, also imply power, authority, enforcement, obedience, resistance and so on. Politics then can be seen in the family, in the classroom, in interaction among friends. And no-one can deny that even young children know something about and have opinions about rules. Thus, Hodgetts and Gallagher urge us

> . . . to capitalize on the everyday situations encountered by the children themselves which involve their own group decisions and choices. At home they encounter rules about their own conduct and at least sometimes share in the decisions made; at school and in the neighbourhood they encounter other rules determined in different ways. . . . The informal analysis of such political situations are child related opportunities to develop understandings and senses of group responsibility and social obligation, of far more benefit than memorization of legalistic descriptions of government practices or abstract political concepts.[47]

In addition, one can make good use of games, role-playing, simulation and other "hands-on" strategies. In the Soviet Union, for example, kindergarten activities are so organized that children have to work together to complete them: building blocks are too large for one child to mange unaided so that co-operation becomes necessary and useful. To organize students to tackle school and community problems — litter, traffic, aid for the handicapped and so on — also has obvious political applications. In all cases, the important point is to make the learning experiential and to use it to lead into wider political issues.

A recent investigation of the possibilities of teaching politics in the elementary grades put forward these criteria:

1. Children should see the "political" in their everyday lives in family, school and so on.
2. Political education should deal with problems common to the world of the child and to the adult world of institutionalized politics.
3. Political education should link the study of problems to the development of behaviour.
4. Political education should reflect the many contexts of children's political learning (e.g. ways must be found of relating to parents, community groups, the media and so on).
5. The "hidden curriculum" of classroom organization and climate must be examined for its political messages.
6. Political education should reflect the fact that no one theory of learning satisfactorily explains the development of the child's political self. Thus, there is a place for social learning as well as cognitive learning, for modelling, reinforcement and the rest.
7. Political education should reflect the diversity of society.
8. Political education should recognize that children are becoming citizens of a global society as well as of their own country.[48]

Although intended for the elementary school, these criteria are equally applicable to the secondary grades. Obviously, as students get older, and certainly as they become capable of abstract thought, it will be necessary to introduce more intellectual sophistication into the programme. In particular, it will be necessary to give them some means to unravel the complexities of politics and to make it possible for them to analyze political events and issues that arise after they have finished with school.

Politics, however, is not a matter of knowledge alone. Obviously, knowledge is an important component of political literacy, competence or whatever one chooses to call it, but, on its own, it is not enough. The acquisition of political knowledge, for example, has no necessary connection whatsoever with support for democratic principles, nor with political participation.

What is needed, then, is a problem-posing approach to teaching (to use Paolo Freire's term) as opposed to an information-dispensing one. To do otherwise is to ignore the evidence that styles of teaching and of classroom organization can have a political impact.[49] It is also to reject the very essence of politics, to ignore the fact that politics are a matter of issues and problems, not of authoritative pronouncements or dogma.

One learns to be active — politically or otherwise — by being active. One learns a skill by practising it. Political education, therefore, if it is seriously concerned with developing political efficacy or competence, must concern itself with the appropriate skills and attitudes, as well as with knowledge. It must attend also to the involvement and activity of students. Research into political socialization suggests that the curriculum on its own is a limited medium of political learning. Educational research has drawn attention to the importance of the hidden curriculum. Students may acquire their political attitudes and assumptions more from the way we teach than from what we teach. To no one's surprise, research indicates that political competence and a sense of political efficacy are aspects of a more general sense of efficacy: "persons who feel more effective in their everyday tasks and challenges are more likely to participate in politics."[50] To quote Almond and Verba;

> . . . if in most social situations the individual finds himself subservient to some authority figure, it is likely that he will expect such authority relationships in the political sphere. On the other hand, if outside the political sphere he has opportunities to participate in a wide range of social decisions, he will probably expect to be able to participate in political decisions as well. Furthermore,

> participation in non-political decision-making may give one the skills needed to engage in political participation.[51]

The implications of this for political learning need no comment. By contrast, Hess and Torney found in the United States that "compliance to rules and authority is a major focus of civics education in elementary schools."[52]

Overall, most children learn to be dependent rather than autonomous. They define the teacher's role as one of keeping order, giving instructions and evaluating performance. In the words of an English study: "Children expect the teacher to act as the boss; to direct, initiate and control learning: to be judge and jury of work and conduct. . . ."[53] Research into what actually goes on in classrooms suggests very strongly that we could easily allow students a greater voice in their own learning. There is plenty of evidence that independence, creativity, autonomy (in a word, efficacy) are not highly valued in many classrooms. Few report cards contain such headings as "thinks for herself/himself"; "independent"; "asks interesting questions"; "creative". The usual categories are (to quote an actual example): gets along with others; uses time to good advantage; completes assignments; works quietly and independently; listens well; dependable; produces neat work; takes criticism and disappointment well. There is not much scope for efficacy — political or otherwise — here.

All this is to say that what children are taught about politics is often contradicted by the way in which they are taught. They learn about democracy in an authoritarian setting. They are urged to participate when they become adults, but are not encouraged to do so while they are young. In addition to this, the content of political education creates further problems, all too often ignoring the real world of politics for some ideal picture of what is supposed to happen. If, political education is supposed "to lay the foundations for intelligent participation in public matters",[54] then much of what has been done has been misconceived.

In any event, there are at least three criteria to be met if students are to understand politics: one, that they should see the political in their everyday ordinary lives; two, that they should deal with

problems common both to their world and to the adult world of politics; and three, that from this personal, experiential base they should arrive at an understanding of politics "in the big".

In this connection, they should also acquire as part of a programme of political education the skills necessary for effective political action. Action learning in the classroom can take one only so far; at some point it becomes necessary to move out of the classroom into wider political arenas.

There are at least three ways of doing this. One is to use the school itself as an object of political analysis. A second is to reform the governance of the schools so as to allow for more student participation. A third is to engage students in politically relevant activity outside the school.

The only systematic attempt to use the school itself as an object of political analysis is the Comparing Political Experiences project. The general thrust of CPE has already been described, but it is worth looking in more detail as its notion of the school as a "political laboratory":

> The school is viewed as a microcosm of political life and everyday experiences in leadership and decision-making are utilized both for study and for participation by students. In this way the students' everyday life experiences in the school governance activities are tapped for multiple instructional purposes.[55]

Thus, in the first instance, the school is seen as a case-study in politics, embodying as it does such politically related concepts as power, authority, socialization, decision-making and so on. Accordingly, the first unit of CPE examines the school as a political institution, that is to say as a setting in which occur decision-making, leadership, communication and participation.

Beyond this, however, the school also serves as an arena for the participation experiences which are so much a part of CPE. For example, "students can act as participant-observers in decision-making situations, interview relevant leaders, or make changes in student organizations in order to determine how alternative forms of political organization work."[56] They are also taught to concep-

tualize, rehearse and put into practice different styles of behaviour and participation in student clubs and other school organizations and then to reflect upon their experiences.

The directors of CPE acknowledge that this is likely to change what happens in schools: "The introduction of a program which promotes student social self-fulfillment, participant roles, and political competencies will have demonstrable effects on the social organization of a school." Teachers, for example, will have to acquire the skills necessary to organize and implement participation activities; students will move from passive to active roles. Despite this, CPE argues that schools can accommodate the programme without undue fear of the consequences: "the pulse of political life in the school will change dramatically though not necessarily negatively as a result of this program".[57]

There are those who argue that simply to use the school in this way does not go far enough, since, for the most part, schools are run (some would say they have to be run) on authoritarian and hierarchical lines and thus can never promote students' feelings of efficacy until they change fundamentally. The Ten-Nation Survey of Civic Education noted that "Perhaps a hierarchical organization such as the school is not the best setting for inculcating democratic values."[58] This argument has benefited in recent years from the work of Lawrence Kohlberg and his associates in connection with the concept of the 'just community'. As Kohlberg puts it:

> . . . if you want to develop morality or a sense of justice in kids, you have to create a just school, a just classroom environment. For the fact is that much of what kids learn comes not from books and materials, but from the moral environment and atmosphere that you establish in your classroom. . . .[59]

From these considerations emerges a case for some form of student self-government, or at least for student participation in school governance in a different form from what we now know. Entwistle has argued that this need not be an all-or-nothing affair.[60] He points out that there are various levels and loci of decision-making in schools. The levels include decisions about curriculum, teaching-strategies, student evaluation, rules and regulations, school meals

and so on. The loci include the school board, the superintendent, the principal, the department-heads and so forth. Entwistle argues that students could have a real voice in at least some of these things: student participation need not mean student control, although he ignores the objection that participation on limited terms is often as bad as no participation at all and does not say what would distinguish limited participation from token participation.

Efficacy is, of course, the goal of those who see political education as best done, at least in part, *via* planned, out-of-school experiences. There is a small but growing trend to see political education in terms of getting students involved in some sort of political action outside the school. The word 'political' here should be interpreted generously: the point is to get youngsters to take part in community and public issues.

> Cyclists may wish to establish and assist in the regulation of bike trails. Volunteer workers may wish to change some regulations in a mental hospital. Housing organizers may seek more frequent trash collection or more frequent inspection for code violations. Students may advocate an increased budget for women's athletics at the high school. A centre for runaways may attempt to influence politics in a police department or juvenile court. A black student union may have to work for official recognition by the school. According to our definition, these are all attempts to exert influence in public affairs.[61]

In short, student action outside school can occur in at least five forms: (1) voluntary service with social agencies; (2) community projects; (3) political action with political parties or interest groups; (4) community study and surveys; and (5) internship in a community organization. In all cases, advocates of action programmes insist that such activities are not extracurricular but rather are part of the curriculum, integrated with more conventional courses and offered for credit.

All such programmes, of course, are forms of political education in that they are all founded upon a particular concept of citizenship. They lament the inactivity and lack of participation in public affairs

displayed by the public at large and amply documented by political scientists. Instead, they offer a picture of the informed, active citizen. Newmann has offered, for example, the idea of 'environmental competence' and especially "the ability to exert influence in public affairs."[62]

Action programmes blame schools, at least in part, for the large degree of apathy that now exists. Newmann argues that schools have never seriously tried to teach the skills, knowledge and attitudes that would produce environmental competence. Their "underlying orientation tends to emphasize the importance of students learning to understand, describe or explain reality, rather than exerting an impact upon it." Even worse, the dominant modes of teaching assume student passivity. Livelier teaching methods and better materials will never solve the problem, which is inherent in the instructional structure of the school and curriculum: "The problem is not so much that the teaching is uninspired . . . or that the materials are dull . . . but rather that young people are offered a steady diet of classroom lectures and discussions on topics which seldom really touch their lives."[63]

Action programmes consist of more than just going into the community and doing something. They involve choices and priorities as to what should be done; they involve considerable research into issues and problems; they involve confronting and dealing with political realities; they involve learning the arts of negotiation, persuasion and influence. They are 'small-p' political in that they aim to develop a particular kind of citizenship; they are 'large-P' political in that they immerse students in the political realities of everyday life.

Conrad and Hedin suggest five criteria for assessing the value of action programmes, arguing that they must give students the chance to perform tasks that both students and community see as worthwhile. The criteria are that students should

1. have some responsibility for making their own decisions;
2. have other people depend on their actions;
3. work on tasks that strengthen their thinking both cognitively and ethically;

4. work with other age groups;
5. reflect systematically on their experience.[64]

Points #3 and #5 are especially important in that they indicate that action programmes are not intended to promote action for action's sake, but rather as carefully organized attempts to develop students' political skills, sense of responsibility and general feelings of competence.

In any event, contemporary approaches to political education are an attempt to deal with a number of considerations. First, they take account of the research into cognitive development and try to convert the often abstract subject matter of politics into terms that students can understand through concrete, personal experience. Second, they take note of the findings of political socialization research that conventional approaches have not in fact proved very successful. Third, they recognize the findings of educational researchers as to the impact of the hidden curriculum. Fourth, they are grounded in a political theory which takes popular participation seriously and which sees politics as consisting primarily of issues and problems. At the same time, however, they do not always avoid the dangers of simply becoming another form of socialization rather than of education.

Hodgetts and Gallagher, for example, comment that

> . . . The balancing of interests, the resolution of conflict, and the lessening of tension are among the principal purposes of political activity.[65]

The existence of conflict is acknowledged, but it is generally seen as capable of resolution. The role of politics is to minimize it, to balance interests, to lessen tension, to resolve conflict. In the same vein, Crick has defined politics as "the creative conciliation of differing interests."[66]

In other words, political education still sees the state, and particularly government, as the impartial arbiter of competing interests. Like Bismarck at the Congress of Berlin, it serves as an honest broker. As suggested earlier, however, this is a somewhat limited view of the state and is an ideological rather than a factual view. André Bernard has suggested that definitions of politics can be

grouped into two categories: the first sees politics as the instrument of collective action in a society, with government acting objectively and impartially to foster the common good; the second sees politics as the process by which some peole struggle for power over others and by which different groups exercise this power.[67] Although political education has gone some way to adopting this second view, it has not yet fully come to terms with its implications.

Heater has suggested a three-fold classification of political education, which he describes as traditional, reformist and radical, and which he sees as consisting of an approach both to subject matter and to pedagogy.[68] Thus, the traditional approach emphasizes knowledge of political institutions and favours chalk and talk methods, or, to use Garth Allen's phrase, "full-frontal" teaching. The reformist approach teaches students "to understand that politics is about the resolution of issues that exist in real life and to appreciate that institutions are only means to that end." It favours discussion and inquiry methods of teaching. The third approach, which Heater describes as radical, consists of "a critical appraisal of doctrines, policies and methods . . . and assumes that the status quo is not necessarily the best and that stability is not necessarily — indeed, by no means — a virtue." It also favours inquiry and discussion methods but at the same time goes further in calling for student participation in school and community politics. Interestingly, Heater — one of the leaders of the political education movement in the United Kingdom — then calls for "marrying reformist subject-matter with radical pedagogy." It is precisely this cautious combination which typifies recent work in political education. Despite their espousal of a tougher, more realistic conception of politics, they are wedded to a liberal-democratic view of politics in which all problems are susceptible of rational solution. It is, therefore, no coincidence that they fail to come to grips with the whole question of ideology. It would be wrong, however, to see them as simply more sophisticated defences of the status quo. They do represent a significant advance and one that hopefully can be taken even further.

## III. POLITICAL EDUCATION OR POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: THE ROLE OF THE "HIDDEN CURRICULUM"

What we are doing in schools today is largely socialization, and much of what we are doing is, at worst, destructive of development and, at best, at least not conducive to it. This is not the place to spend an undue amount of time on definitions, but it is necessary to explain what the words mean if the argument is to hold up. Clearly, one can use a word like "development" in many senses, but two are particularly relevant here: (1) one is the technical meaning given to the word by psychologists when they use terms like "cognitive development," "moral development," and so on; (2) the other is the much more general sense of the word used by educators and others when they speak of the development of potential, or of development as the goal of education, and so on. In fact, of course, the two senses are often related in that the proponents of sense (2) see the task of education as to facilitate and even accelerate the movement of youngsters through the developmental stages of sense (1). This is, for example, the point of Kohlberg's much quoted article, "Development as the End of Education."[1] In both senses the word carries with it sense of opening up and out, of unfolding, of taking youngsters and moving them to levels — or to a degree of richness at those levels — that otherwise they would not have reached. In fact, the standard dictionary definition of development is: to open out; to expand; a gradual opening out or growth.

In short, development is simply a one-word summary for the view that education should aim at the fulfillment and maximization of potential.

Conversely, "socialization" is just the opposite. Rather than opening out or expanding, it means shutting in or restricting; it means fitting people into niches, be they cultural, economic, vocational or whatever. Emile Durkheim put it best some eighty years ago when he described the role of education, which he defined as:

> The influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are required of him both by the political society as a whole and by the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.[2]

There are all sorts of things wrong with this definition, not least the portrayal of society as one undivided block which somehow arouses and requires physical, intellectual and moral states. In reality, of course, society is divided into competing groups and interests and, in education as in everything else, some people make the decisions for others to obey. Nonetheless, Durkheim's description is, I think, an accurate statement of what schools *do* (though *not* of what they *should* do), for they do prepare students for certain slots in society with whatever skills, attitudes and knowledge are judged necessary.

To put it another way, since attendance at school became compulsory during the last 100 years (specifically, since 1916 in Manitoba), schools have acquired (or had thrust upon them) the following functions:

1. **Socialization** (e.g., citizenship, Canadianization — as illustrated by the present thrust in Canadian Studies, in multiculturalism, in political education)
2. **Sorting** (e.g., streaming, selecting, certifying — One historian has called the school system the "great sorting machine")
3. **Custody** (e.g. keeping youngsters off the street, providing care and nutrition)

4. **Teaching of Knowledge and Skills**
5. **Teaching of Creativity and Autonomy**

Now for all these five, good and cogent arguments can be advanced. Custody, for instance, is a necessity in an economic system where both parents simply have to work and where many are near or below the poverty line. Nonetheless, my argument is that we have concentrated ever increasingly on the first three, do not do nearly enough with four, and very, very little with five. It should, of course, be understood that one can find exceptions to this over-broad generality. In almost any school one can find teachers who are promoting creativity and intellectual skills, but in system-wide terms the argument holds good.

But, having said that, one is obliged of course to offer some evidence and, particularly, evidence of a type more satisfactory than "I was in a school the other day" or "my son is in Grade XI and . . ." Educational discussion all too often seems to run in such grooves. However, there is a good deal of substantial evidence (be it from history, sociology, anthropology, pedagogy) to support the proposition that classrooms are confining, restricting places for students, that rather than opening their minds and expanding horizons we are restricting and boring them.

To a large extent this has a historical explanation. Marx once observed that the past weighs like a mountain upon the minds of the living and it may well be that a knowledge of our educational past might help us to overstep some of the limitations of our present practice.

Schooling as we know it is a product of the Industrial Revolution and evolved as a partial solution to the serious problem of labour discipline. It was no easy matter to turn men and women who were used to an agrarian rhythm into people who would govern themselves by clock and bell. Agrarian rhythm was largely tied to the cycle of physical nature: getting up at dawn, going to bed at dusk, working hard at such periods as harvest and seed-time and taking it easier at others. It was a rhythm which established its own time demands independently of the clock.

The factory, by contrast, demands that workers be conscious of

time, that they work at the pace of the machines they tend, that they govern themselves by prescribed routines. Further, in the early decades of the industrial revolution, when towns had not built good roads or effective mass transportation systems, the problems of getting workers to work on time were extremely difficult. Survivals of pre-industrial culture had also to be eliminated, in particular the observing of "Saint-Monday" which was used by workers to extend their weekend.

Factory discipline, then, was a troublesome and very real concern — and continued to be throughout the nineteenth century. One answer was coercion — hence the often brutal practices of the early industrialists. Another was benevolent paternalism of the type practised by Robert Owen at New Lanark. Owen was not alone in building a factory community and involving himself closely in the lives of his workers — and such methods ensured a cooperative labour force. Yet another answer lay in the workers' internalizing the attitudes and values desired by their employers, a strategy which would be both cheap and effective.

In this last context one can see how the school came to be valued as a socializing agency for the new industrial society. One can also see how the organization of the school came to take the form that it did. As early as 1770 William Temple had observed of children that:

> There is considerable use in their being, somehow or other, constantly employed at least twelve hours a day, whether they earn their living or not; for by these means, we hope that the rising generation will be so habituated to constant employment that it would at length prove agreeable and entertaining to them. . .[3]

Thus arose the structure of punctuality, diligence, obedience and politeness that came to characterize the schools. Thus arose also a carefully designed curriculum to ensure that one's ideas were appropriate to one's station.

And it should be emphasized that the curriculum and its contents are not neutral. They are designed to present a particular view of the world to youngsters. It is obvious, for instance, that not

everything can be included in one curriculum (although teachers wonder sometimes whether curriculum committees have grasped this fact), that the curriculum represents a selection from the culture, as Raymond William has put it. What is perhaps not so obvious is who in fact makes that selection and for what purposes.

An analysis of Canadian history textbooks, for example, reveals a remarkable series of omissions and of value judgements, even in the most recent publications. There is not time here to present this in any detail, but perhaps the general findings are worth noting:

(1) Textbooks say little about ordinary working Canadians, although they say a good deal about the political and economic élites.
(2) They transmit a clear and consistent moral message, emphasizing the values of perseverance and determination of individualism, hard work, moderation and restraint.
(3) They consistently minimize — to the point of total omission — the existence of social conflict both past and present.[4]

This can be seen, for instance, in a recent Grade V/VI civics text. Its very title, *Working for Canadians* describes its view of government which it defines as 'you and others working together to satisfy some of your needs.' There is no recognition nor discussion of the fact that government simply cannot meet everyone's needs, or that people's needs are often incompatible, or that not all needs are desirable or permissible. Not even the conventional liberal notion that government exists to mediate the conflicts that inevitably arise in society is discussed.

The book's message is vividly conveyed by a story. Here class 5B has done more that its share in raising money in a school fund-raising drive. The students are given the task of deciding how to spend $250.00 which has been raised and which is surplus to school requirements. After discussion and voting, they decide to buy some ping-pong tables for the school. The story is intended as a microcosm of the Canadian political experience: 'what happened in Mrs. Dunn's class is a lot like what happens when governments are formed all over Canada. Voters choose ideas and people to help them meet their needs.'

More interesting than the content, however, is the story's hidden message. What one reads between the lines is the most significant thing about the story. In particular, the students turn out to have little real power. The principal makes the important decision. He decides that 5B must spend the money 'for the good of the school, not just for 5B.' This is an eminently reasonable decision, but if the story is to illustrate a political concept, why not have some young rebel at least question what right the principal has to tell them what to do with money they raised?

After the principal, the teacher wields power. She controls 5B: 'Quiet everybody! Sit down! You've got some thinking to do, not just talking.' So much for democracy — or perhaps the analogy with the real world is closer than the author intends. Enlightened despotism seems to be the rule in 5B. When asked for help, Mrs. Dunn is happy to oblige:

> "But Mrs. Dunn! We can't agree! We all have ideas. What are we going to do?" pleaded Sue.
>
> Mrs. Dunn thought for a minute and then she said, "During recess I want all of you to talk about it among yourselves. Then after recess you can come to me in groups or on your own to give your suggestions. At least that should give you time to think and maybe we will have fewer but better suggestions. Now let's do some arithmetic."

The youngsters obviously know where the power lies. They allow Mrs. Dunn to postpone democracy and they get down to their arithmetic. Similar examples run through the story: Mrs. Dunn gives each group two days to prepare a report; she tells the class there would be a vote and the majority would rule; she lays down the procedures for voting. The author himself knows whats happening when he writes, 'As usual, Mrs. Dunn had the last word.'

The story is more important that it might seem. Obviously Mrs. Dunn is a competent, well-organized teacher. She runs a tight ship. But the story is intended to symbolize the political process, not describe a classroom. Why, one wonders, did the children simply accept the principal's decision? Why did they accept, even wel-

come, the teacher's edicts? Why are their choices so limited? In the story they come up with five possibilities: to plant trees, to buy school jackets for everyone, to buy everyone a new pen, to buy ping-pong tables, to buy playground equipment. Where is the hedonist who says that, since they raised the money, they should throw a party? Where is the philanthropist who wants to give the money to charity? Where, in short, is the potential for conflict and its resolution?

By contrast, consider the potential of this approach. A fourth-grade teacher announces arrangements to visit a local candy factory. However, the factory will allow only ten children to go. The teacher says that she will choose the ten, but one boy protests that this is unfair. He suggests that students give their reasons for wanting to go on the visit so that the teacher can choose the best. Then a girl says that only girls should go, since only boys went on the last field trip, and so on.

The refusal to deal with conflict is even better seen in the book's explanation of why Canada is a monarchy:

> Many years ago in a land called Britain, there was a people who lived and worked together. Like most peaceable people, they wanted a peaceful life with the things they needed to be comfortable and happy. To protect themselves from enemies they banded together under a leader called a king. The king also helped them learn how to get the things they needed to live.

Clearly, this idyllic picture of people working contentedly together under a benevolent king of their own choosing bears no resemblance to the real world of the Anglo-Saxons, Vikings, Normans and assorted medieval dynasties. The passage continues:

> Sometimes the people disagreed with the king or queen and they elected some representatives to advise him or her on how to run the country. The king at that time thought he had been doing a pretty good job, but he could see that the people were learning more things and so he paid attention to their advice.

Thus are the Stuarts dismissed from history!

It is not that this is a totally bad book. It is, in fact, well written and attractively produced. But its interest lies in its avoidance of any examination of conflict. In this, it resembles many other textbooks, although perhaps makes the message clearer than most.[5]

Textbooks ignore conflict in another way also — by failing to point out the conflict of ideas, of interpretation, of hypotheses that are at the heart of intellectual inquiry, even in the elementary school. The vast majority of textbooks are written as a series of factual statements, sliced up into chunks each with its own subheading, and arranged so as to imply that all one has to do is to learn their contents and thus become educated. As one cynic once put it, they give students answers to problems they did not even know they had. Jerome Bruner's description of geography stands for all subjects:

> presented in the usual textbook and geography as practised by geographers. The problems are presented as solved at the onset. The child is then asked to consider how the "authority" arrived at his solution. In a geography text we will find at the beginning of a chapter the statement "the world is divided into temperate, torrid, and frigid zones." Virtually the whole effort in the paragraphs that follow is given over to making it seem as if this distinction is obvious. Many children, we are convinced, are left with images of the earth in which one can find border signs which read something of the order, "You are now entering the temperate zone," put there by some benign authority in league with the textbook writer. How to characterize the earth in terms of regions disappears and geography is converted into a combination of tongue-twisting names in a gazeteer and some rather puzzling maps in which "Greenland looks much bigger than it is."[6]

Thus, curricula and textbooks, emphasizing learning what the "authority" prescribes, preclude any attempt to get students to investigate or to inquire. They forestall all those kinds of activities which would facilitate and enhance students' development.

In this they are reinforced by what we have learned to call the "hidden curriculum." Brophy and Good, for example, in reviewing and summarizing the various investigations of what actually happens in classrooms, have concluded that:

- Teachers monopolize communications in the classroom.
- Teachers emphasis has been placed on obtaining student response to short factual questions.
- The quality of teacher-child interaction varies with the achievement level of the student.
- There is evidence indicating that students are not as free to act as teachers believe them to be.[7]

There is abundant evidence to indicate this kind of pattern. In 1968, for example, Hodgetts reported that 86% of classes observed struck closely to the textbook and could only be described as "deskbound" and bored listeners.[8] A 1977 assessment of social studies in B.C. found that only a small minority of teachers wanted the right to choose their own textbooks, preferring that such decisions be made at a higher level. This study also found "class-discussion" and "audio-visual presentations" to be the most reported methods of teaching, although as the Report notes, both methods are "frequently characterized by a high degree of student passivity."[9] Similar evidence can be found in the 1975 social studies assessment done in Alberta. At that time the social studies curriculum recommended three "instructional modes": (1) the designative (what is); (2) the appraisive (what should be); and (3) the prescriptive (what should be done) — and found that only the designative (i.e., the descriptive) was thoroughly taught. The report found an 80% emphasis on the designative; 20% on the appraisive and "no orientation whatsoever" to the prescriptive.[10] Indeed, 40% of the teachers rejected the whole open-inquiry, no-textbook approach — a finding borne out recently in Quebec where it was found that a majority of history and social studies teachers chose not to deal with political issues in their classrooms , and indeed declared themselves opposed to such discussions.[11]

From all this, it seems reasonable to conclude that teaching continues to be predominantly didactic, expository and authoritarian. It socializes students rather than helping their development.

Indeed, that this is so is suggested by the current fashion for so-called "assertive discipline" which seems to be sweeping the schools at the moment. One can only speculate what it means for youngsters to see a set of commandments written on the board every time they enter a room and how it influences their attitude to learning and indeed their view of what learning is. Of one thing we can be certain: such rules and the attitude that lies behind them, indeed behind the whole notion of assertive discipline, are the complete antithesis of education as development, because they allow no chance for moral or intellectual growth.

All of this raises the question of the hidden curriculum on which so much has been written in recent years. In the words of the old song, "It ain't what you do; it's the way that you do it." The broad socio-political impact of the school has been described and explained by sociologists such as Talcott Parsons and Robert Dreeben. For them, schools function to internalize in students commitments to and capacities for future adult roles. Parsons described the school as a sort of half-way house which moves children out of the personal, emotion-laden atmosphere of the family to the impersonal, objective world of public life. In his terms, schools move youngsters from status based upon *ascription* to status based on *achievement*. Dreeben makes the same point. He describes work in an industrial society as being characterized by (i) a distinction between the worker as a person and the position that he occupies; (ii) a physical separation from the household; (iii) individual accountability for tasks which are assessed by prescribed standards; (iv) being carried out increasingly in large bureaucratically run organizations. This kind of work demands certain attitudes and habits. They may be *adopted as a role* for convenience's sake or they may be *internalized as an ideology*, but, nonetheless, they are necessary. Here, says Dreeben, is an important function of the school. It is the institution which trains youngsters for this kind of work and behavior. To quote him:

> One answer to the question "What is learned in school?" is that pupils learn to acknowledge that there are tasks they must do alone, and to do them that way. Along with this self-imposed obligation goes the idea that others

> have a legitimate right to expect such independent behaviour under certain circumstances.[12]

In Philip Jackson's words:

> . . . school is a place where things happen not because students want them to but because it is time for them to occur . . . . The distinction between work and play has far-reaching consequences for human affairs, and the classroom is the setting in which most people encounter this distinction in a personally meaningful way.[13]

At this level, then, the essential function of the school (far more essential than its concern for teaching knowledge and skills) is to equip students with appropriate dispositions and attitudes for the world of work in an industrial society — a world in which work is an increasing source of dissatisfaction, according to survey after survey of worker alienation — and particularly to encourage the growth of passivity, conformity and obedience.

Thus, overall, most children are taught to be dependent rather than autonomous. They define the teacher's role as one of keeping order, giving instructions and evaluating. A recent English study noted that:

> Primary school children . . . don't like teachers who shout at them, or who are sarcastic, impatient, or uninterested in their work. Popular teachers are kind, tactful, approachable and apparently competent. But what is soon clear is that most of these children expect the teacher to act as the boss; to direct, initiate and control learning; to be judge and jury of work and conduct; and to act accordingly to his status in the school. It is these expectations, rather than likes or dislikes, which are most apparent. . .[14]

This can be seen in another way. In recent years political scientists have been paying a good deal of attention to political socialization: what and how children learn about things political. One of their findings is that one cannot confine political learning to the civics or social studies programme. Rather, it occurs as a result of all the experiences that children have in school and, consequently, begins at a very early age. The anthropologist Lawrence Wylie

made this observation about a French infant school when the teacher remarked of her pupils that "there is nothing serious they have to learn for a year or so":

> The children, however, *do* learn important lessons. They learn to sit still for long periods. They learn to accept the discipline of the school. They even learn about learning — that is, they are impressed with the fact that to learn means to copy or to repeat what the teacher tells them.[15]

Indeed, a general finding of the political socialization research is that obedience is one of the most important political lessons that children learn in school. In Hess and Torney's words, "Compliance to rules and authority is the major focus of civics education in elementary schools."[16]

There is some evidence, moreover, that the political messages — both hidden and overt — we teach to children vary according to social class. In brief, with working class students schools we emphasize conformity, duty and obedience; with middle class students the emphasis is upon participation and efficacy. Obviously, students do not always internalize these messages. What the school teaches is not necessarily what the students learn and Paul Willis has shown how a group of English working class students resist their school's teaching.[17] Nonetheless, the fact remains that schools, often without realizing what they are doing, emphasize a particular cluster of values and behaviours. Their overall message is one of dependency, of conformity, of obedience: in a word, the task is seen as one of socialization.

There is evidence to suggest that independence, creativity, autonomy are not highly valued in schools. Few report cards contain such categories as "thinks for himself/herself"; "autonomous"; "creative"; "asks interesting questions." The usual headings are (I quote an actual example): gets along with others; uses time to good advantage; completes assignments; works quietly and independently; listens well, dependable; produces neat work; takes criticism and disappointment well. It is difficult to imagine a list of qualities that better describe the loyal, dutiful worker.

Social control is also maintained through the tracking or streaming function of the school. All industrial societies are characterized by social and economic inequalities and ours is no exception. How then are people led to accept — more or less — these inequalities and rationalize them? Here again schools are important. In awarding credentials — and in their own streaming practices — they serve to legitimize inequality. They make it seem that those who have "made it" have done so because of natural ability. We now know, however, that the best predictor of a child's educational performance is socio-economic position. This holds true in England, Sweden, the U.S.A. and Canada. Jencks has recently argued that school makes no difference to anything. One need not, perhaps, be this pessimistic, but there is nothing very controversial in the corollary that school alone is unable to redress the inequities within society. More disturbing is the realization that, in fact, it seems to entrench them.

It seems reasonable to suggest that this pattern, which pervades so many of our classrooms, at least helps to explain the consistent finding that youngsters' cognitive development is not as advanced as one might expect. Most of the studies suggest that even by high school youngsters still display (to use the Piagetian terminology) concrete operational rather than formal operational thought, or, to use Peel's terms, they are describer rather than explainer thinkers. Even in high schools, it seems, at least 70% or so of students have not reached a level of abstract thought.[18]

For example, when faced with a Peel-type of problem, they do not reason it all the way through. Take for instance, this passage:

> Only brave pilots are allowed to fly over high mountains. One day a fighter pilot flying over the Alps crashed into a cable railway, causing a cable car to crash to the glacier below. Several people were killed, many others were hurt.
>
> Was the pilot a careful airman? Why do you think so?

Most students answer this in one of two ways, saying, Yes, because he was brave (prelogical) or No, because he hit the cable (describer). Only a few say that there is not enough evidence to form an opinion.[19]

The question that arises is whether, before they reach some particular age or stage, youngsters are simply incapable of dealing with such a question, or whether the fact that they do not is a result, not of some inherent developmental limitation, but of years of classroom conditioning.

There is increasing evidence that it is the latter. What is involved in a good deal of "abstract" thought, after all, is an ability to think round and through a question, or, to put it another way, to question the question — and this is a skill that can be taught reasonably simply. As things stand, however, it is taught only in a few instances. Most students spend their time looking for factual answers to (to them) meaningless questions. Indeed, most classroom questions are not genuine questions at all since youngsters know that the questioner (i.e., the teacher) already knows the answers. Classroom questions are really lawyers' questions, designed to put the recipient on the defensive.

On a larger scale, beyond just the classroom, the schools' emphasis on socialization, as opposed to development, might also explain the consistent findings in the political socialization literature that schools do not succeed in teaching the kind of citizenship that they nominally espouse. A U.S. study found that secondary school civics and social studies courses made no impact on students.[20] A Ten-Nation Survey concluded that "nowhere has the system proved capable of producing the ideal goal of the well-informed citizenry, with democratic attitudes and values, supportive of government policies and interested in civic affairs." Indeed, the Ten-Nation Survey came to a rather sobering conclusion: "perhaps a hierarchical organization such as the school is not the right setting for inculcating democratic values."[21]

In Canada, for example, political alienation and cynicism are running at high levels, as people, rather than becoming involved in order to change things, simply turn away and take solace in the manipulations of television. The last major survey revealed that "general comments on politics were 33% positive and 52% negative. The general comments on politicians were a staggering 78% negative in tone."[22] It is hardly surprising, then, that most people do nothing more than vote (and then only in federal and provincial

elections), and do not become participants in the political arena. Nor is it surprising that political participation increases as one moves up the economic ladder, so that the political system is dominated by the economic elite, as demonstrated by Denis Olson, Wallace Clement, William Mishler and others.[23]

Political scientists, psychologists and others have pointed out that "participativeness" is an orientation and a disposition that is learned, and that it is best learned young. Almong and Verba, for instance, argue that democratic values and participation in adult life correlate with the experience of participation and involvement in school. They go on to suggest:

> . . . if in most social situations the individual finds himself subservient to some authority figure, it is likely that he will expect such authority relationships in the political sphere. On the other hand, if outside the political sphere he has opportunities to participate in a wide range of social decisions, he will probably expect to be able to participate in political decisions as well. Furthermore, participation in non-political decision-making may give one the skills needed to engage in political participation.[24]

The implications of this for the classroom need no comment.

What, then, should be done? Clearly, there are implications for school climate, rules, curriculum content, teaching and a host of other things. It is not simply a question of giving teachers "better" methods, although that is obviously important, for without the tools the job can't be done. Equally important is to change the attitudes that shape our classrooms. And there is some evidence that attitudes can make a difference. Sarah Lightfoot, for example, in a fascinating study, has argued that teachers' world-views shape their philosophies which, in turn, shape their conceptions of good teaching and hence influence what they do in their classrooms. She describes two teachers, one of whom could best be described as conservative, the other as mildly radical. The first, Teacher A, felt that "the system" was generally fair and open and that people could succeed within it if they wanted to. She was critical of "permissiveness" and "lack of standards" and believed that much could be done if only people would work and apply themselves.

Teacher B, although by no means a Summerhill disciple, gave unjust, rewarding the privileged and penalizing the un privileged. For her the important thing was not to do well in the system, for that was by definition impossible for most people anyway, but to change it. These views, these political philosophies (for that is really what they were) translated themselves into classroom practice. Teacher A, for example, with her belief in hard work and getting ahead, emphasized orderliness, decorum, authority. Teacher B, although by no means a Summerhill disciple, gave more attention to student-initiated activities and to student participation. Thus, students spent more time working at their desks on their own for Teacher A than they did for Teacher B. Lightfoot found that these patterns revealed themselves in the students' behaviour: "the approach and responsiveness of the children . . . reflected the educational goals and political philosophies that were unconsciously and explicitly expressed by their teachers." In brief, she found the students of Teacher B to be more creative, discriminating, confident and critical.[25]

It should be emphasized that Teacher B was not a "permissive" teacher, nor could she be described as a follower of "progressive education", as that term has come to be generally understood. Within her classroom, she maintained certain procedures and a certain structure. But within this, she gave her students a fair amount of autonomy and of activity. Neville Bennett's research in England suggests that the more "formal" the teaching, the more students progress. In some quarters this has been interpreted as evidence for a return to traditional practices (although one should add it is not always clear just what they are). Often overlooked is Bennett's discussion of an "informal" classroom in which students did very well academically. His conclusion is worth quoting:

> Although the classroom was evidently orientated towards informal practices the content of the curriculum was clearly organized and well structured. This would seem to highlight a distinction between how the learning environment is structured, on the one hand, and the emphasis and structure of curriculum content, on the other.[26]

Lightfoot's Teacher B would seem to fit this pattern perfectly and nicely exemplifies Bennett's distinction between informality and in the learning environment and formality in the structure of curriculum. And in this lies an important message for the teacher of politics: to advocate discussion, simulation, role-playing — in short, to urge the importance of experiential, active learning — is not to preach a message of "anything goes". The point is obvious but still needs to be made since educational debate very quickly turns to labels and stereotypes. John Bremer described it well when he said that teaching consisted of two tasks: first, to create order, and then to create disorder. The first is necessary because everyone needs some kind of structure or order. There has to be, so to speak, a framework within which to operate. If this is all, however, there will be little learning. The framework will become a cage. Thus, the teacher needs also to create disorder within the wider framework, to raise questions, to set problems — in short, to create the conditions within which students will begin to use their minds actively.

All too often, however, the operating assumption in many classrooms seems to be that children are ignorant. This, it is assumed, is why they are compelled to attend school: to become informed — which usually means learning what their teachers already know. Certainly, acquiring knowledge is an important part of education. No one can properly be called educated if he or she knows nothing. At the same time, it is important to remember that knowledge is precisely *a part* of eduation, not the whole of it. A. N. Whitehead's dictum is rather strong, but it is worth remembering: "The merely well-informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth." Teaching can be said to consist of information-giving and problem-posing but too often the first excludes the second.

Thus, the crucial task is too easily seen as giving children useful knowledge. At best, what they do know — be it about licence-plates, wargames, animals, music, sports or whatever — is seen as inferior knowledge. After all, if it were not inferior, it would be on the curriculum. If it is not there, then by definition in school terms it is not worth knowing.

This is misguided on two counts. First, it automatically downgrades students. Their ideas and experience are seen as of little

importance. Think, for instance, of the implications of that all too frequent teacher response to a student answer: "no, that's not really what I'm thinking of." What the student wants to say is not all that important: it is what the teacher thinks that matters. The whole point is that students should learn to dissect a problem, to look at a range of viewpoints, to speak their mind, not to sit like the R.C.A. Victor dog waiting for "His Master's Voice."

Second, it ignores the obvious fact that, thanks to the mass media and the increasing mobility of families, children in fact know a surprising amount. James Coleman has distinguished between an information-poor and an information-rich society, pointing out that schools emerged in the former and served to provide the young with a window on the world. In an information-poor society the school is a major source of information. A hundred years ago (or less), for example, it was largely in school that youngsters found out about the wider world they lived in. Thus, schools served an expository, information-dispensing function. Today, however, we live in an information-rich society with the young getting vast amounts of information from non-school sources. Despite this shift, the school continues to function above all as a dispenser of information. To some extent, of course, it must do so, but not to the exclusion of its problem-posing role.[27]

Part of the solution is to redefine the role of students. They have to cease being the more or less passive recipients of someone else's information and begin to see their own ideas as worth examining. For if we have often persuaded ourselves that youngsters know very little that is worth knowing we have at the same time persuaded the youngsters themselves that this is indeed true. Unless they refuse to play the school game, they quickly come to see themselves as consumers of information. Hence that all too familiar question: "Will this be on the test?"

We need to take seriously the implications of this definition of relevance:

> Relevance is not a matter of adapting a subject to the apparent interests of a pupil on to the apparent fashions of the moment. Relevance is achieved by assuming that a pupil or student has something to contribute to the sub-

> ject. Relevance at its deepest has nothing to do with subject matter; it has to do with the status of the learner in relation to what is being learned.[28]

And, in doing so, we have to beware of one possible risk in the developmental approach, viz. the risk of making teaching follow upon development, rather than of interacting with it. In the 1930's Vygotsky pointed out that development actually consists of two levels: the actual and the potential, and that our tests measure the former, i.e., where youngsters are, not where they might be. It is the teacher's job, however, to move between the two, to move students from the actual to the potential. If we do this, then we really will be pursuing not merely socialization, but development.

## IV. MORALS AND VALUES IN THE SCHOOLS: CITIZENSHIP AND MORAL EDUCATION

My topic is *Morals and Values in the Schools* and it is obviously a huge topic, with a large literature and an extensive body of theory, experimentation and classroom work. It is also a topic which arouses a good deal of interest and controversy both among the general public and teachers. It is also something with which we, as teachers, are inextricably and, sometimes it seems unknowingly, involved. My fundamental objection to some approaches to classroom discipline, for example, is that their proponents appear to overlook the moral implications of what they are urging. In their concern for the *value* of order in the classroom, they offer (in my view) an unacceptable *moral* message. In my view, this is a form of moral education (even though an unacceptable one), although many people do not seem to recognize it as such.[1]

As example, take this fairly typical elementary school report card, found in some Winnipeg schools, in which teachers report on students' general deportment according to these categories:

1. Gets along well with others.
2. Uses time to good advantage.
3. Completes assignments.
4. Works quietly and independently.
5. Listens well.
6. Dependable.

7. Produces neat work.
8. Takes criticism and disappointment well.

As I have said elsewhere, this list of qualities represents a personnel manager's dream, describing, as they do, the dutiful, loyal, obedient, willing worker. But I don't want to be misunderstood: I am not opposed to any one of these qualities as they stand and, obviously, a strong argument can be mounted for all of them. My objection is both to their cumulative effect and to the omissions, so that, for example, nothing is said about autonomy, originality, creativity. This list emphasizes socialization, *not* education, a distinction to which I will return. Essentially, the distinction between them is that socialization emphasizes training and shaping people to take their place in some pre-existing system: it is a closing of possibilities. Education, on the other hand, emphasizes autonomy, creativity and the critical spirit: it stresses the importance of opening up human potential, of self-determination and emancipation; it is an opening up of possibilities. My own view, of which more later, is that we have taken a wrong direction in education and have allowed socialization to become our dominant goal. As a result, the morals and values emphasized in the schools, both by default and by deliberate choice, are those to do with socializing rather than educating.

I have been arguing to this point that, when we teach values in the schools, we often do so unthinkingly and unknowingly. I have suggested, by way of example, that this is usually true in the case of discipline and in the case of student evaluation. Let me add a third area: teaching strategies, since there is evidence that the kind of teaching strategies that we use can have an impact on students' values and on their moral outlook. To take a particular example, let me refer to a study done by Sarah Lightfoot and published in the *Harvard Education Review* some years ago. She described two teachers, one of whom could best be described as conservative, the other as mildly radical. The first, Teacher A, felt that the "system" was generally fair and open and that people could succeed within it if they wanted to. She was critical of "permissiveness" and "lack of standards" and believed that much could be done if only people would work and apply themseles. Teacher B, on the other hand,

felt that the "system" was essentially unjust, rewarding the privileged and penalizing the unprivileged. For her the important thing was not to do well in the system, for that was by definition impossible for most people anyway, but to change it. These views, these political philosophies (for that is really what they are) translated themselves into classroom practice. Teacher A, for example, with her belief in hard work and getting ahead, emphasized orderliness, decorum, authority. Teacher B, although by no means a Summerhill disciple, gave more attention to student-initiated activities and to student participation. Thus, students spent more time working at their desks on their own for Teacher A than they did for Teacher B. Lightfoot found that these patterns revealed themselves in the student's behaviour: "the approach and responsiveness of the children . . . reflected the educational goals and political philosophies that were unconsciously and explicitly expressed by their teachers." In brief, she found the students of Teacher B to be more creative, discriminating, confident and critical.[2]

We are, then, in the business of teaching values, often without realizing it. But, obviously, beyond this unconscious, unthinking teaching of values, schools also teach them overtly and directly. We do our best to teach students such values as punctuality, good work-habits, respect for others and so on and so on. To repeat my main argument, however: we have allowed ourselves, wittingly or otherwise, to emphasize the values of obedience, conformity, acceptance rather than those of autonomy, freedom and criticism.

A distinction should, perhaps, be made between values and morals and certainly between values education and moral education, because they are not necessarily one and the same, even if to examine the difference means entering a semantic minefield where the proponents of differing approaches and definitions prepare their defences around the terrain of values, ethics, morals and the rest. To some extent, of course, definitions are arbitrary. As the Queen told Alice: When I use a word, it means just what I want it to mean; the question is who is to be the master, that's all. Even so, in this area definitions and philosophical clarity are important. As Robin Barrow has said in many books, *knowing why* needs to precede *knowing how*. Nonetheless, I do not on this occasion want

to go too far into the work of the analytical philosophers. The danger of entering a minefield, semantic or otherwise, is that one can get blown up. To put it briefly, *values* are desirable states, covering all areas of life, about which opinions can legitimately differ. *Morals*, on the other hand, are uniquely and distinctively concerned with questions of *right/wrong; good/bad; fairness or justice*. To use a Kohlberg example, whether one should clean a room, or wear short hair, or listen to "good" music are matters of value; but cheating, stealing, exploiting are matters of morality. To use the standard dictionary definitions, values are questions of relative worth, utility or importance; morals relate to principles of right and wrong.

Following Kohlberg, Lockwood has distinguished between "moral and non-moral values": in his words, between "those values which involve human rights, welfare and justice, and those which do not".[3] Obviously, this is not a totally sharp distinction and a few seconds thought will provide instances which are both moral and non-moral in this sense, depending upon context and circumstance. Nonetheless, the point is an important one, since if we are seriously concerned about morals and moral education, we must know what it is that we are about.

Kohlberg has said that the central concern of a moral question, i.e., that which makes it *moral*, is its relation to *justice* or *fairness*. Lockwood says much the same thing, defining the moral realm as concerning human rights, welfare and justice. Other criteria should be added. In particular, the moral realm assumes reasonableness or rationality. To say that something is *right*, or that it *ought* to be done, in the moral realm is, after all, not simply to express a preference, in the sense that abstract expressionism is "better" than socialist realism. It is, rather, to claim that there are *reasons* why something is right, or ought to be done, and that these reasons are compelling when looked at dispassionately. To act morally, in other words, is to do so from free choice, aware of alternatives and consequences, and to do so after rational deliberation. In addition, but not to extend this discussion, moral philosophers have added two other criteria: one, that moral principles are *universal* in that, if something is right, it is right for all people in that particular

situation or one comparable to it. Morality is not relative, or situational: it is *not* a question of "well, it's all a matter of opinion." The second is that moral principles are *prescriptive*, i.e., if something is right it *should be done*, it entails acting upon the principle. As Israel Scheffler put it:

> To make a moral claim is . . . to rule out the simple expression of feelings, the mere giving of commands, or the mere citation of authorities. It is to commit oneself, at least in principle, to the "moral point of view", that is, to the claim that one's recommended course has a point which can be seen clearly if one takes the trouble to survey the situation comprehensively, with impartial and sympathetic consideration of the interests at stake, and with respect for the persons involved in the issue.[4]

None of this, it should be noted, means that moral questions are easy to answer or are susceptible to some hard and fast, objectively correct solution. If they were, there would be no dispute over censorship, over abortion, over bilingualism, over euthanasia and a host of other questions which have moral dimensions.

But if we are to concern ourselves with moral education, and we inevitably are concerned whether we like it or not, we must be concerned with four fundamental issues:

1. autonomy
2. human dignity
3. fairness
4. rationality

Along these lines, the best definition of the goals of moral education that I have seen is that provided by John Wilson *et al.* in England. Without using their particular terminology, these are:

1. Concern and respect for persons as being of equal worth.
2. Awareness of and insight into one's own and other people's feelings.
3. Mastery of necessary factual and practical knowledge.
4. Rational formulation/adoption of set of moral principles incorporating 1-3.

5. Ability to translate these moral principles into moral judgments.
6. Ability to translate these moral judgments into moral action.[5]

This, I think, nicely separates moral education from values education. The former deals with the issues and pursues the goals as just described. Values education, by contrast, aims at developing in students certain preferred kinds of thought and behaviour. They might be a particular set of characteristics mandated and promulgated by those in power. Here, for example, is the Winnipeg School Board in 1897:

> As in former years, the avowed aim of the work of the school has been to train pupils in right habits and inculcate right principles, as well as to give them instruction in useful learning.[6]

Note the "As well as" — the implication is clear; the primary goal is training in right habits and right principles, *then* comes instruction.

It might be that it is not considered important what the particular values are so long as students have, in the words of the values clarification movement, freely chosen them, prize and act upon them. Whereas morals are seen as defined by the kinds of criteria mentioned above, values are seen much more broadly as (in Raths' words) "general guides to behaviour", which "evolve and mature as experiences evolve and mature".[7]

Schools have long been in the business of values education, as historians have shown us in recent years. Indeed, it can be argued that schools have been intended to deal even more with values than with intellectual matters and that character and behaviour are prized more than is intellect.

The school was seen, at least once compulsory attendance was instituted, as a crucial institution for the maintenance and redirection of society, for the establishment of social control. This redirection was due in large part to four interrelated forces which together reshaped the nineteenth century: individualism, urbanization, nationalism and the slow emergence of political democracy, which, taken together, meant that the training of the young could no

longer be left to tradition and to parents. As Manitoba's Minister of Education, R. S. Thornton, put it in introducing compulsory school attendance in 1916:

> The reason why the state assumes to interfere in this matter is two-fold. First, it does so for its own protection. Boys and girls, the citizens of the future, must be qualified to discharge the duties of citizenship. Second, the state interferes in education for the benefit of the children themselves, who must be fitted to aid themselves so that they may not become a charge on the public.[8]

The important point about this statement is one to which we have become so accustomed that we now take it for granted: the state was assuming control of education, and schools were seen as a public responsibility. One can illustrate this transition here in Manitoba quite nicely. In 1913, the Winnipeg School Board commented that:

> Until a comparatively recent period the schools were organized on purely academic lines and the avowed aim of education was culture and discipline. This aim, however, has been greatly enlarged within the past few years, by including within its scope the development of a sense of social and civic duty, the stimulation of national and patriotic spirit, the promotion of public health, and direct preparation for the occupations of life.[9]

In short, children were compelled to attend school not so much to obtain an education, but rather to be taught citizenship. Education as the elite knew it, consisting of the development of critical awareness and an initiation into culture, was replaced by social and civic duty, patriotic spirit, public health and job training. In all of this, students were seen as passive objects: they were there to be turned into useful citizens. Insofar as student activity, inquiry, involvement, and so on were supported, they were only tactical diversions to make citizenship training more efficient. It was against tradition that reformers such as John Dewey struggled — though with no great success, despite the popular misconception that sees Dewey — inspired philosophy triumphing in the schools.

As a result, what I would call genuine moral education was a non-starter. Instead, values education, in the form of inculcation and socialization, was dominant, and the approved values were conformity, diligence, subordination, loyalty, devotion to duty.

I have neither the space nor the time to provide all the evidence for this claim but there is a great deal of it. To take only one example, I investigated Canadian history textbooks a few years ago and conclude that they "transmit a very clear and consistent moral message, emphasizing the values of perseverence and determination, hard work, moderation and cheerfulness."[10]

Three points need to be made about all this: (1) it is not education but socialization or training, a point on which I have already said enough; (2) it includes a good deal about values, but very little that is moral; in the sense that I am using the words; and (3) it totally fails to address the need for moral education that now faces us.

As institutions which propagated the values of passivity, subordination and the rest, the schools did their job all too well, as contemporary evidence suggests. For, although Canada prides itself on being an open, democratic society, it is, in fact, remarkably elitist. John Porter (*The Vertical Mosaic*), Wallace Clement (*The Corporate Elite*) and Denis Olson (*The State Elite*) have in recent years documented the inequality in the distribution of wealth and power and the interconnection of economic and political power, so that nothing remains to be said about this. The facts are clear. Just to emphasize that I am not simply riding a personal hobby horse, however, consider these two conclusions. The first is from William Mishler, the foremost student of political participation in Canada, who writes:

> Although lawyers, doctors, businessmen and other professionals constitute fewer than 10% of the Canadian work force, they occupy almost 3/4 of the seats in the House of Commons, 2/3 of the offices in local party organizations. Blue collar workers, in contrast, comprise nearly 1/2 the population but hold fewer than 10% of the positions either in local parties or parliament.[11]

The second is from Robert Altmeyer, a psychologist at the Univer-

sity of Manitoba, who has summarized his research in these words:

> . . . our studies indicate that a lot of Canadians will accept just about anything the authorities choose to do. We have to consider what this means for the future of our democratic institutions. Given the right circumstances — an economic or social crisis — we could wake up one day and find our rights and freedoms had been taken away.[12]

I am tempted at this point to dwell on such things as the MacDonald Commission's Report on R.C.M.P. wrong-doing, on provincial attitudes to the notwithstanding clause of the Charter of Rights, and on and on, but time does not permit.

My point is that, if we are to take democracy seriously, and to see it, not just as a set of institutions, but as a commitment to participation and shared decision-making at all levels of society, then moral education is crucial. There is substantial common ground, in fact, between political education and moral education at least in the sense in which I understand and use these terms.

Education is indeed for citizenship but citizenship has to be redefined. As Shirley Engle put it in 1960:

> The mark of the good citizen is the quality of decisions which he reaches in public and private matters of social concern. . . Decision-making requires more than mere knowledge of facts and principles; it requires a weighing in the balance and synthesizing of all available information and values.[13]

In other words, moral, or indeed any other, education has to be located in a particular context, in our case the context of a democratic society characterized, at least in theory, by:

1. Social and institutional arrangements which rest upon freely given consent.
2. Institutionalization of procedures for critical and public examination of policy.
3. Encouragement of and provision for maximum participation at all levels.
4. Guarantees of freedom of expression.
5. Equality of rights.

It is these five characteristics of democracy that make moral education so crucial. It will be remembered that the criteria of moral principles include:

1. commitment to fairness/justice
2. commitment to autonomy
3. commitment to rationality and the use of reason
4. commitment to human dignity

The linkage between these criteria of the moral and the characteristics of democracy needs no elaboration. If we are preparing students for life in a truly democratic society, we cannot avoid them. Professor Arthur Schafer wrote recently in the *Winnipeg Free Press* when writing about questions of medical ethics: "It is safe to predict that Canadians will be called upon, in the near future, to engage in public discussion on the issue of feeding the irreversibly comatose. The issue is fundamentally a moral one. Technical issues may be left to experts to resolve, but public policy is required to regulate moral and value issues." And it is obvious that many of the troublesome questions of public policy that now face us, as citizens, are troublesome precisely because they are at root moral questions. Consider, for example, the issues of abortion, French language rights, native land claims, pornography, nuclear weapons — the list goes on and on. My point, of course, is a simple one: if discussion of public issues is to be more than an exchange of recriminations, education must provide the necessary skills and dispositions.

All of which is to raise the question: how should this be done? It is common knowledge that in the last ten-fifteen years values and moral education has been a topic increasingly discussed in the schools. The 1960's were a period which saw an attempt to bring more academic rigour into the curriculum *via* the new maths, the new social studies, the various new science courses and so on. In the 1970's there was an increasing concern for values, beginning in the U.S.A. and spreading elsewhere. The phenomenon is fairly easy to explain in the U.S.A. as the American dream seemed to be collapsing in Vietnam, Watergate, rising crime rates, family breakdown, drugs, pornography and the rest. Conservatives called for a return

to traditional values: liberals called for the schools to help children deal with the complexities of modern living. In Canada and elsewhere, this concern was quickly picked up. One programme, for instance, in *Canadian Public Issues*, defined its goals as:

> to enable students to gain an understanding of the society in which they live through the discussion of its major social conflicts. The second . . . is to enable students to acquire those skills necessary for the analysis, discussion and resolution of such conflicts or issues.[14]

I have not time here to say anything about the various approaches to values and moral education that have emerged, except to refer to the existence of Superka's valuable survey.[15] Perhaps the key point is that the innovators of the 1970's all condemned the traditional approach of values inculcation. They saw it as immoral in that it restricted student autonomy by simply telling them what they should think; as counter-productive in that the tough issues were not susceptible to solution by this approach since they were cases of conflicting moral principles; and as ineffective since the research suggested very strongly that students did not internalize the moral values they were supposed to learn anyway.

All of these objections have considerable force, but especially that which points out that if morality is based upon rationality and autonomy it cannot rely upon inculcation and still be philosophically consistent. As Kay put it:

> Moral education is that process which helps children to develop their own moral philosophy. . . They should live self-directed lives based on a coherent value system, which springs from rationally held ethical principles.[16]

And yet, it was not quite so simple. In practice, no-one was prepared to throw out inculcation entirely. It was obvious that it would be very difficult to run a classroom if everything was up for grabs and if the teacher had to justify every decision and every statement. Some kind of balance had to be struck between the demands of the classroom and the ideals of the moral philosophers. Any such balance would necessarily be far from perfect, but it

was constructed. Fenton, for example, divided values into three categories:

1. **Behavioural:** these were those things necessary for teachers to run an organized classroom.
2. **Procedural:** those things intrinsic to a discipline. e.g., respect for evidence, use of scientific method.
3. **Substantive:** those issues over which there are legitimate differenes of opinion and on which teachers should not promote any one particular view.[17]

Fenton's argument has some problems: e.g., when one tells students to shut up, is that an unacceptable and immoral imposition of power (i.e., a substantive value) or a legitimate means of establishing order (i.e., a behavioural value)? Nonetheless, despite such difficulties, his classification has some obvious advantages. To look for some absolute dividing line could paralyze all action. In a similar way, a British project in political education, an area which inevitably spills over into values and moral education, specifies that these "procedural values" must be instilled into students: freedom: toleration; fairness; respect for truth; respect for reasoning.[18] In short, although the inculcation of moral values is, for the most part, unacceptable, it cannot be rejected entirely. As teachers we are almost inevitably involved in it. The important point is that, at the very least, we are aware of the problems involved and constantly examine what we do in terms of moral criteria.

One popular approach to values education tries to duck the issue entirely, claiming that values education must be itself value free and devoting itself to helping students to clarify their values — whatever they may be. Its seven steps, divided into the three processes of choosing, prizing and acting are well known as are many of its techniques, such as the clarifying response, value sheets, rank-ordering, values voting and the rest. These techniques can be valuable in the classroom and the values clarification movement has built up a useful repertoire of teaching techniques. Beyond this, however, it is less satisfactory and has yet to answer satisfactorily the philosophical charges levelled against it, particularly that it fails to deal with value-conflict, that it is entirely too relativist, that



97

it does not go beyond self-awareness and says altogether too little about the intellectual skills involved in values analysis.

This phrase — value analysis — introduces another development of the 1960's and 1970's, as represented, for example by the Harvard Social Studies Project, the OISE Canadian Public Issues Project and UBC's AVER, all of which have produced extremely useful classroom materials. The central thrust of this approach is to teach students how to deal with public issues which revolve around conflicting values in order to make them better (i.e., more informed, skilled and rational) citizens. In Fred Newmann's words: "We propose teaching both a method to analyze positions on value issues and techniques that encourage students to take a stand."[19] Various projects in values analysis have worked out effective classroom techniques that have the added advantage of being applicable to a wide range of subjects, such as literature, social studies and science all of which embody value and moral issues in their very content.

More sophisticated is the approach most closely associated with Lawrence Kohlberg which concentrates on the development of students' moral reasoning. Kohlberg's six-level classification of stages of moral reasoning is fairly well-known these days, as is his careful but insistent argument that the task of education is to help students move to the highest level possible. It should be noted also that Kohlberg and his associates have produced effective classroom techniques and strategies to help achieve this. There are philosophical and empirical problems with Kohlberg's approach, as critics have frequently pointed out, but they are not insuperable and it does have a great deal to offer. The real problems are practical in that (a) it demands a very high level of sophistication and expertise on the part of teachers who have many other demands on their time and (b) it is extremely difficult to operate in a typical classroom of thirty students.

Nonetheless, even this hopelessly cursory survey reveals that there is a good deal of useful and interesting work going on in values and moral education. Anyone who believed, as I do, that such education is an indispensable task of the school does not have

to re-invent the wheel. There is a great deal that has already been done.

One thing has become crystal clear, however, in recent years: moral education is something which must be practised as well as preached. It is all too easy for intentions and goals to be contradicted by the organizational patterns of school and classroom. If we put moral education in the curriculum (in fact it is already there), then it must also pervade the hidden curriculum. In Kohlberg's words:

> . . . if you want to develop morality or a sense of justice in kids, you have to create a just school, a just classroom environment. For the fact that it that much of what kids learn comes not from books and materials, but from the moral environment and atmosphere that you establish in your classroom.[20]

To this end, there are now in existence various experiments in what is being called the "just community school", whose function is " to promote the controlled conflict and open exchange of opinions about fairness that are essential to the moral development of the individuals in the community."[21] There are ways of doing this and a body of work to which one can turn. The important point is this: truly moral education means major restructuring of what we often do in school.

All of this involves fundamental rethinking of much that we take for granted. It may well mean tackling groups in the community whose sensitivities are aroused by the mention of the word "moral". It will certainly mean making a clear distinction which has not always been made clear. None of this will be easy, but I don't think we can afford not to tackle it. H. G. Wells once said that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe and all the signs are that education is losing. Teachers must stop seeing themselves as technical experts whose only professional function is pedagogy: but they must make themselves heard in the debate over what education is all about — and this meaning giving moral education its proper importance.

## V. TEACHING STRATEGIES AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

To suggest that schools should teach politics to youngsters is nothing new. Citizenship has long been an aim of public education and civics has long been on the curriculum. Schools were intended to socialize the young as well as to educate them. As Durkheim defined it, public education was

> the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are required of him both by the political society as a whole and by the special milieu for which he is specially destined.[1]

In recent years, however, traditional approaches to the teaching of politics come under question. First, they concentrate on institutions at the national level — to the exclusion of more local concerns. In Entwistle's terms, they have a 'macro-orientation'. Second, they present an idealized and therefore unrealistic view of politics; they talk about the world as it is supposed to be, not as it is. The result is to make youngsters unduly cynical when they come to see the difference between what they are taught and what in fact exists. Third, they deal with institutions rather than with processes and, in particular, they deal not so much with politics as with government. Fourth, and most damaging, they have not worked, as suggested by the consistent research findings of the low level of

political participation by most people.[2] In the words of the Ten-Nation Survey of Civic Education,

> . . . nowhere has the system proved capable of producing the ideal goal of a well-informed citizenry, with democratic attitudes and values, supportive of government policies and interested in civic affairs.[3]

This realization, together with the general sense of uncertainty about the future of liberal democracy, has in the last few years produced a new interest in political education. This has also been fed by two research streams: one in political socialization, and another in cognitive development. There is not space here to describe this in any detail.[4] Suffice it to say that the subject matter of politics is often abstract in nature and far removed from the concerns of youngsters, who, even in high school, think mostly in concrete terms. Bruner has noted that

> the task of teaching a subject to a child at a particular age is one of representing the structure of that subject in terms of a child's own way of viewing things. The task can be thought of as one of translation.[5]

In the case of politics, the translation poses especially difficult problems. Thus, one of the concerns of the newer approaches to teaching politics is to make the subject more readily intelligible to students.

One solution is to see politics as involving far more than government and institutions. If, for example, one sees politics as 'the creative conciliation of differing interests',[6] it becomes possible to make some fairly obvious connections with youngsters' personal experiences. Hodgetts and Gallagher elaborate on the implications of this for the elementary school:

> . . . a third approach to the acquisition of initial familiarity with and competency in the tasks of citizenship is to capitalize on the everyday situations encountered by the children themselves which involve their own group decisions and choices. At home they encounter rules about their own conduct and at least sometimes share in the decisions made; at school and in the neighbourhood they

> encounter other rules determined in different ways. . . . The informed analysis of such political situations are child-related opportunities to develop understandings and senses of group responsibility and social obligation, of far more benefit than memorization of legalistic descriptions of government practices or abstract political concepts. . . .[7]

One should add that there is no reason for this approach to be confined to the elementary school; it is equally useful at the secondary level.

Recent approaches to the teaching of politics, then, are very different from civics as traditionally understood. They give much more explicit and systematic attention to the outcomes of increased participation, efficacy and competence. In particular, they are characterized by these features:

1. The traditional legal-historical-institutional approach has been largely abandoned in favour of conceptual models derived from the discipline of political science.
2. The organizing principles of curriculum are either issues or concepts rather than factual descriptions of events or institutions.
3. Case-studies are a popular teaching device for introducing students to issues and problems.
4. Discovery/inquiry strategies are favoured so that students learn how to handle problems and formulate personal opinions and so that classrooms themselves exemplify participation and involvement.
5. Politics is broadly defined to include political systems and/or political behaviour. Politics is seen as broader in scope than government and in some cases includes the politics of everyday life.
6. Politics is seen as based upon conflict (of ideas and interests) and the attempt to contain and manage it, rather than a consensus.
7. Care is taken to make learning as concrete and experi-

ential as possible through simulation, role-playing and similar techniques.

8. Political action and participation are being increasingly emphasized.
9. There is a serious concern for politically relevant attitudes and values, e.g. tolerance, rationality, competence, efficacy.
10. An important goal is that students learn life-long skills and attitudes, so that their political learning does not end when they leave school.

All this describes the considerations one has to keep in mind when organizing a programme — be it a separate course or simply one or more units in some existing course such as history. It is pitched, so to speak, at the macro-level. It says little about more immediate questions of teaching strategies and classroom organization — the micro-level.

One fact must be faced at the very beginning: there is no convincing evidence that any one teaching technique is any more effective than any other. Inquiry is no more effective than exposition; discussion is no more effective than lecture.[8] It is, therefore, difficult to argue that certain ways of teaching are demonstrably superior to others.

This argument, however, applies to the cognitive impact of different teaching techniques. But political education is concerned with more than knowledge and skills. Values and dispositions are also held to be important. And here, it seems, teaching techniques can make a difference, although it may be better to speak of personal styles rather than teaching techniques. Almond and Verba, for example, in a five-nation survey, argued that commitment to democracy correlates significantly with school experiences: in particular, the existence of an open climate and the frequent use of discussion methods lead people to be more politically effective. In short, participation in school is conducive to participation outside it. This is perhaps not especially surprising. One would

expect political competence and participation to be an aspect of a more generalized sense of efficacy: "persons who feel more effective in their everyday tasks and challenges are more likely to participate in politics."[9] Almond and Verba's observations need to be pondered by teachers especially:

> . . . if in most social situations the individual finds himelf subservient to some autority figure, it is likely that he will expect such an authority relationship in the political sphere. On the other hand, if outside the political sphere he has opportunities to participate in a wide range of social decisions, he will probably expect to be able to participate in political decisions as well. Furthermore, participation in non-political decision-making may give one the skills needed to engage in political participation.[10]

This argument has been best elaborated by Carole Pateman in her study of participatory democracy — a book which should be far better known to teachers than it is.[11]

There is, then, some evidence that if we want students to become politically effective adults, teaching strategies do matter. It is not so much a question of favouring one technique to the exclusion of others, but of using any technique in a way that allows students to become genuine participants in their own learning. In this light, teachers' personal styles become important. Lightfoot, for example, argues that teachers' outlooks upon the world — their 'philosophies', so to speak — shape their teaching and influence their students. She worked with two teachers, one generally conservative, the other mildly radical. The first (Teacher A), for example, felt that the 'system' was fair and that people could succeed within it if they were prepared to work. The second (Teacher B) was less optimistic. She saw the 'system' as inherently unfair, rewarding the haves and penalizing the have-nots. For her, the important thing was not to do well within the system (which she saw as impossible for most people anyway), but to change it. These views translated themselves into classroom practice: Teacher A emphasized order, decorum, persistence, co-operation; Teacher B allowed more student-initiated activities, more spontaneity, a 'looser pattern' of

control (although she was no Summerhillian). As for their students:

> . . . the approach and responsiveness of the children . . . reflected the educational goals and political philosophies that were unconsciously and explicitly expressed by their teachers. Teacher A spoke of co-operation, disciplined obedience, and uniformity as being primary goals of the educational process and her children expressed undifferentiated reasons for their status choices. Teacher B claimed that her primary goals for children included an expression of autonomy and self-knowledge; and her children's responses tended to be creative, aggressive, discriminating and critical.[12]

All of this raises the question of the hidden curriculum, of course, and demonstrates its remarkable power. Any attempt to improve the teaching of politics must meet it squarely. In the words of the old song, "It ain't what you do; it's the way you do it." There is not space here to examine the literature on this topic, but it is clear from the research that in most classrooms, there is all too little opportunity for student participation and autonomy. One recent survey of the research draws these conclusions:

- — Researchers have noted that teachers monopolize verbal communication channels in the classroom. . . .
- — There is evidence to indicate that students are not as free to act as teachers believe them to be.
- — There is much evidence to indicate that teacher emphasis has been placed on obtaining student response to short factual questions, and that this pattern has not changed much over time.[13]

To take a concrete (and real-life) example, consider this school report card's headings: gets along well with others; uses time to good advantage; completes assignments; works quietly and independently; listens well; dependable; produces neat work; takes criticism and disappointment well. There is no scope for autonomy and initiative here. Where, one wonders, are such categories as: thinks for himself/herself; is creative; asks interesting questions; shows originality?

More important than particular teaching techniques, then, is the climate and context within which they are used. Students have to cease being the more or less passive recipients of someone else's information and instructions. We need to take seriously the implications of these remarks about relevance:

> Relevance is not a matter of adapting a subject to the apparent interests of a pupil or to the apparent fashions of the moment. Relevance is achieved by assuming that a pupil or student has something to contribute to the subject. Relevance at its deepest has nothing to do with subject matter; it has to do with the status of the learner in relation to what is being learned.[14]

Unfortunately, the research indicates that in all too many classrooms the operating assumption is that students have little or nothing to contribute to a subject. Classrooms are perhaps the only place in the world where questions are asked even though the questioner already knows the answer. A question asked by a teacher is only rarely a genuine request for information, as students quickly realize.

For political education, then, the first priority is to change the climate within which learning occurs and, in this regard, James Raths has provided an excellent list of criteria:

1. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it permits children to make informed choices in carrying out the activity and to reflect on the consequences of their choices.
2. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it assigns to students active roles in the learning situation rather than passive ones.
3. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it asks students to engage in inquiry into ideas, application of intellectual processes, or current problems, either personal or social.
4. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it involves children with realia (i.e. real objects, materials and artifacts).

5. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if completion of the activity may be accomplished successfully by children at several different levels of ability.
6. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it asks students to examine in a new setting an idea, an application of an intellectual process, or a current problem which has been previously studied.
7. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it requires students to examine topics or issues that citizens in our society do not normally examine — and that are typically ignored by the major communication media in the nation.
8. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it involves students and faculty members in 'risk' taking — not a risk of life or limb, but a risk of success or failure.
9. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it requires students to rewrite, rehearse and polish their initial efforts.
10. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it involves students in the application and mastery of meaningful rules, standards, or disciplines.
11. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it gives students a chance to share the planning, the carrying out of a plan, or the results of an activity with others.
12. All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it is relevant to the expressed purposes of the students.[15]

Historically, the classic example of the use of these criteria and the strategies they suggest is Socrates demonstrating his heuristic method by getting the slave-boy to formulate Pythagoras' theorem. The classic example of what not to do is provided by Mr. Gradgrind's teaching the definition of a horse. This well-known passage

is often said to demonstrate the aridity of rote-learning. It has, however, a more important point to make, for Sissy Jupe knew exactly what a horse was. She had spent her young life among them since her father belonged "to the horse-riding". This, however, did not concern Mr. Grandgrind, who wanted an unequivocal, comprehensive and scientific definition as stipulated by himself. In his view, young Sissy Jupe had nothing to contribute to the subject at hand.

Clearly, it is Socrates and not Mr. Gradgrind who should provide the model for the teacher of politics. In the first place, the very essence of political education is, or should be, to explore issues rather than to propound dogma. Its fundamental questions of power, authority, justice, and the rest, are matters for investigation rather than pronunciamento. Secondly, this is the best way to give students a sense of efficacy. To restrict them to a passive role is not likely to lead them to political participation. As Professor W. D. Hawley of Yale University has written:

> Despite the obvious need for improvement in formal political education programs, it seems probable that such reforms, in themselves, will have limited impact on the way young people relate to the political system. The reason is that while students learn about government and politics through the formal curricula and what instructors teach, they also learn by observing and experiencing the extent to which democratic values and processes are really adhered to in the life of the school as a social system. As many observers have noted, these two modes of learning usually lead to different conclusions. . . . In other words, the contribution that education can make to the "training" of citizens, to the development of a deep respect for democratic values and a predisposition to see politics as an appropriate and useful vehicle through which one's interest can be advanced, is related to the way schools themselves are organized and how students are treated.[16]

All these are necessarily rather general observations and there is neither space nor time to discuss in any detail all the available

techniques. There are some, however, which are pre-eminently suited to the teaching of politics: discussion; role-playing and simulation; case-studies. Consequently only these will be described.

**Discussion**

Open discussion is obviously fundamental to the kind of teaching advocated here. To a large extent, this is, of course, a matter of classroom climate. Students are unlikely to offer serious arguments and opinions unless they see some point in what they are doing and know that their ideas will be taken seriously. Classroom climate, however, is not something that can be established overnight. It is the result of a long process during which students size up a teacher and decide to what extent they can risk opening up. A good classroom climate resembles love: it soon becomes obvious whether or not it exists, but one cannot reduce it to a step-by-step procedure. Nonetheless, without it genuine discussion is impossible.

Indeed, even with it, successful discussion is often matter of luck. As with music, training and rehearsal can help one avoid a flop, but they do not ensure a triumph. The classroom, after all, is inevitably an artificial context. Students enter it, usually after a series of other lessons, only to find themselves expected to enter into lively discussion on a topic about which they may not care very much anyway.

Moreover, successful discussion presupposes that participants possess the necessary skills. Few of us possess them innately and so they must be explicitly taught. Fortunately, the skills are not difficult to enumerate or even to teach, although they are not all that often emphasized. The point is simple: if students are to discuss successfully, they must be trained in the appropriate techniques.

As with any teaching technique, stage-setting is crucial. One of the few clear findings of the research upon teaching is that it is most effective when students know what to expect. Discussion often fails to get moving, for example, because a teacher poses an initial question too generally. "What do you think of the women's movement?" will do little more than produce a series of one-liners in response: "You tell us"; "It's dumb"; "I like women"; and so on. Instead, it is best to begin with a specific — and real — incident, preferably something recent and in the news, so that discussion can



169

begin with personal reactions to and opinions about a concrete episode which, at the same time, raises general questions. To stay with the example of the women's movement, it would be useful to find one or more news-stories dealing with, say, sexual harassment in the workplace; a woman's being refused a job on the grounds of her sex; a comment that women were not suited to executive positions (these examples are all in the newspapers at the time of writing).

Once discussion begins, certain rules come into force, although they should not be too rigidly enforced. These rules, of course, assume the existence of certain skills, as described in the Harvard Social Studies Project booklet, *Taking a Stand,* where they are summarized as:

a. Developing a sensitivity to what others are saying.
b. Stating the issue(s) over which disagreement occurs.
c. Pursuing issues systematically and with continuity.
d. Making explicit any changes or transitions in the discussion.
e. Weighing the relevance of statements.[17]

Having isolated the required skills, one must go on to teach them to students; something which is best done through a combination of explanation, practice-sessions, and the analysis of discussion scripts or tapes.

A slightly different approach, and one which is less free-wheeling, is one which is based upon previously assigned reading(s), whether in class or at home. Here the notion of the Group Cognitive Map has proved useful.[18] Briefly, it consists of nine steps which if followed (either strictly or in some modified form) can take a group very effectively through a topic. The steps are:

1. Definition of terms and concepts
2. General statement of an author's message
3. Identification of themes and sub-topics
4. Allocation of time for discussion of the various themes and sub-topics.
5. Discussion of the themes and sub-topics
6. Integration of the material with other knowledge

7. Application of the material
8. Evaluation of the author's arguments
9. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the discussion.

A useful modification of this formula is as follows:

1. Summary (in own words) of the author's message
2. Identification of major themes and topics
3. Discussion of same
4. Integration and application of the material
5. Evaluation of the author's message.

With an experienced group, the steps often interweave to the point that it becomes impossible to separate them. This does not seem to matter so long as the steps are covered and so long as the group realizes that they have been covered. No matter what, one point is fundamental: students must be trained in discussion skills if discussion is to be at all successful.

Another useful aid to discussion is a technique which has been used widely in moral education: the dilemma. To quote Beyer,

> Dilemmas are stories which present a central character in a problematic situation for which there are several possible responses and in which a number of moral issues come in conflict.[19]

In teaching about politics, the issues need not necessarily be moral, though they will often prove to have a moral dimension. One can think, for example, of any number of historical topics which can be phrased as ethical-political 'dilemmas': should Socrates have seized his opportunity to escape the death penalty? Should Luther have broken with the Church? Should Charles I have been executed? Should the Winnipeg labour leaders have called a general strike? Should the Trudeau government have invoked the War Measures Act? All such topics raise questions concerning the nature of political authority and obedience. To take more contemporary issues, current at the time of writing: should a police force be allowed to strike? Should parents be allowed to educate their children at home? Should abortion be legalized?

The important aspects of a dilemma are that it must raise a problem to which there is a range of possible solutions and these

solutions must involve conflicting rights or values (e.g. private property vs. the general welfare in the case of expropriation). It goes without saying that the dilemmas must be seen as such by students and must have some interest for them. There are few things more frustrating than to formulate a dilemma only to have students see it instead as a matter of pure black and white. It can be a useful stimulus to discussion to present students not only with the dilemma but with its possible solutions and then, more or less arbitrarily, assign these solutions to different groups for them to defend as the best possibility.

The importance of dilemmas for political education is that they can serve as a powerful tool for learning how to analyze a problem and its possible solutions. In this way they may help both to make students both more competent (by teaching them useful skills) and more efficacious (by enhancing self-concept). The political dimension is obvious:

> The mark of the good citizen is the quality of decisions which he reaches in public and private matters of social concern. . . . Decision-making requires more than mere knowledge of facts and principles; it requires a weighing in the balance, a synthesizing of all available information and values.[20]

Finally, anyone interested in discussion should read Hodgetts' explanation of the 'dialogue' method in *What Culture? What Heritage?*[21] He describes this as consisting of five components:

1. *Students were well-prepared.*
   - — Reading assignments were carefully selected.
   - — A range of opinions/explanations was included.
   - — There was no initial review or any lecturing by the teacher.
   - — The entire lesson revolved around the discussion of ideas/viewpoints.
2. *Students were skilled in discussion techniques.*
   - — Students did most of the talking.
   - — Students respected others' viewpoints.
   - — Students observed general rules of order.

3. *The teacher had an active role.*[22]
   — Lessons were not totally student-centered nor were they teacher-dominated (teachers were "neither greyed-out neutrals nor domineering masters").
4. *Classes were studying a topic in depth.*
   — Topics were usually organized as problems to be investigated.
   — No attempt was made simply to cover ground or meet pre-set deadlines.
5. *Intellectual skills were encouraged.*
   — Students were thinking, weighing evidence, and so on.

What makes Hodgetts' account especially interesting is his comment that the method was successful with *all* kinds of students: ". . . the natural ability of the students is not necessarily a determining factor in successfully using the dialogue or inquiry technique."[23]

## Case-studies

One of the merits of discussion strategies, and especially of dilemmas, is that they can help to make the often abstract issues and concepts of politics more tangible to youngsters. Case-studies can have the same advantage. As noted earlier, the recent projects in political education have made wide use of case-studies. With them one focusses upon an incident or an issue, either historical or contemporary, in order to make a point or raise a question. They act as a vehicle for making the general, particular; or the abstract, concrete. They reduce a large topic to manageable proportions. It is therefore important that they are simple enough for students to deal with but, at the same time, contain enough information for them to appreciate the complexities involved. It is also important that they focus on specific issues (a good part of the secret of writing case-studies is knowing what to leave out), but at the same time raise general concerns.

One way of using case-studies is to write up a historical episode in such a way that issues are explained, actors' motives described and their options and choices examined. The information can then


113

be used as the context for more or less conventional questions. For example, Patrick and Glenn present a case-study describing the organizing of black Americans in Tuskegee, Alabama, and the subsequent effect of the black vote on Tuskegee politics. The case-study includes two questions:

1. How effective was voting as a political resource in Tuskegee? Describe the limitations as well as the power of the vote as an influencer of public policy decisons.
2. What is your evaluation of the political tactics and strategies of the MCDC (Macon County Democratic Club)? Do you approve or disapprove of their kind of 'black power'?[24]

There is nothing especially unusual about these questions, containing as they do a mixture of the particular and the general, the factual and the judgmental. Worth noting, however, is that the questions arise from the description of a particular episode in a particular place — i.e., a case-study.

A different method is to take a contemporary problem, as yet unresolved, and explore the possibilities open to the actors involved in it. This involves using projective questions: what would you do? What do you think X or Y should do? A contemporary (at the time of writing) problem which begs for this treatment is the argument between Alberta and Ontario over the price of oil and gas. There is abundant material in newspapers, magazines, parliamentary debates, news releases, and so on. It is of some interest to adolescents, involving as it does the price of gasoline and, less obviously perhaps, the availability of jobs. It raises some fundamental questions about federalism: for example, the division between federal and provincial powers; the obligations of a provincial government to its own voters and to the rest of the country; the pro's and con's of the present federal system; the relationship between government and private business. It also raises some important questions about decision-making. And, finally, there is a good cast of characters: Clark, Davis, Trudeau, Lougheed, and others.

**Role-Playing, Simulation, Drama**

Perhaps the main advantage of this cluster of teaching strategies is their ability to make learning experiential, thereby providing for student involvement and for making the abstract, concrete. In Carney's words:

> It's active rather than passive — the student doesn't just sit there while you fill him/her up with facts. Gaming requires that the student actively take a role; that he/she should sympathize with others and participate widely in peer group discussion, fact-finding and problem-solving. Also, the success of a simulation/game isn't dependent on the skill of the instructor as a leader. And the students can judge for themselves how effective the exercise has been. . . .[25]

There is now an abundant literature on simulation and it is not necessary to review it. Nor is it necessary to describe the many and various games that are currently available.[26] It is, however, worth emphasizing the advantages of designing one's own games.

Designing games can be a time-consuming business but, fortunately, it is seldom necessary to start from scratch. Enthusiasts these days talk about 'frame games' — the technical term for adapting existing games to one's own particular needs. One takes the 'frame' of an existing game but replaces its contents with one's own design. The point is that almost anything that can be done with game design has been done and it is tiresome always to be reinventing the wheel. Provided one avoids outright plagiarism, it makes sense to adapt existing games to one's own purposes by redesigning them. Often, indeed, one can get a really useful result by combining approaches and elements from a variety of games. Although there is not space to discuss them here, the general rules of game design are not difficult to grasp (applying them takes long practice, however). Essentially, they serve to ensure that one does not neglect any of the major features of a simulation-game, notably its

**structure:** scenario, roles, player interactions;
**equipment:** playing pieces, props, role-cards, physical requirements;

**procedures:** rules for the organizer of the game, rules for the players, criteria for winning;

**follow-up:** procedures for fostering post-game analysis and discussion.

In an educational setting, of course, it is important that a simulation-game promotes understanding. It is, after all, a tool for learning. In this regard, follow-up after a game is vital. One expert notes that

> . . . the inquest is an important as the game: in fact, *most* of what's learned is learned at the inquest. If you *must* cut something short, cut play short rather than the inquest. . . . Be sure to *plan* the inquest. There's nothing quite as frustrating for a participant as having a really zesty game cut off short and replaced with a lack-lustre post-game discussion: a game is a structured activity, and players normally can't snap out of it and make a lively success out of an unstructured discussion.[27]

Related to simulation are role-playing and other dramatic devices. All help to bring the world of politics into a closer fit with the world of the child. If, as Entwistle argues, from a child's viewpoint politics is inevitably in the future — it is something for which students prepare but cannot actually enter — then these techniques help to put the child, at least vicariously, into various political contexts. Role-playing and drama have the added advantage of costing little or nothing and being easy to stage. It should perhaps be noted here that we are not talking of drama as an orchestrated production such as a school play or a model parliament. Rather, the emphasis is on the use of drama in an everyday classroom setting.

It can be extremely valuable, for instance, for youngsters to be 'confronted' with a political figure, past or present, and have to argue with him or her face-to-face. For example, a class might be studying Louis Riel and offering various opinions on his motives, sanity and general personality. But everything becomes much sharper if the teacher suddenly adopts the role of Louis Riel and forces the students to argue with him, challenging them and rebutting them. Similarly, rather than talk about R. B. Russell and the

Winnipeg General Strike, or Henry VIII and Tudor monarchy, bring the characters into the classroom and let them speak and be questioned.

All this can be done by the teacher. A minimum of costume is required; indeed, costume can be an obstacle, distracting students' attention from the real point at hand. For Henry VIII, for instance, an academic gown will suffice; for Riel or R. B. Russell, nothing at all. What is necessary is that students are prepared to engage in the 'willing suspension of disbelief' — something that they do all the time anyway when they watch television or read a novel. There are certain necessary steps that a teacher must take. For instance, students must indicate (at least by nodding) that they are willing to go along. Without this commitment, the technique should not be used. Again, in setting the stage it is necessary to make visual contact with everyone in the room. Henry VIII, for instance, having looked at everyone in the room, would demand that everyone should stand "in our royal presence" — and, so far, everyone has. One must always remember that the aim in bringing a character into the classroom in this way is not to impart factual knowledge — there are better ways of doing that — but to give students some personal experience of what would otherwise be only a text-book topic. Thus, one does not need to know every fact, every item of information: one is seeking to create an impression, to provide an experience, and this (as in real life) may mean shouting, blustering, weaseling out, refusing to answer ('no comment'), and even downright lying. As with simulation-games, dramatic techniques should be followed by an 'inquest' in which such tactics are examined and analyzed.[28]

Another, and perhaps better-known, form of role-play is for students themselves to assume characters and portray some episode (e.g. the Charlottetown Conference or the Confederation debates) either *via* a script they have prepared or *via* improvisation.[29] This, of course, is the approach underlying model parliaments, mock elections and so on.

All these techniques do more than base learning upon personal experience. At their best, they also enhance students' feelings of competence and efficacy. In particular, they serve "to literally

bring out what children already know but don't yet know they know."[30] As has been said of Dorothy Heathcote, one of the most powerful practitioners of dramatic techniques in education today:

> Far too often teachers of older students irrelevantly paste extrapolations of experience onto the outside of their students. The students could discover these extrapolations for themselves, making them their own, if only they were allowed ample time to spin out their own elaboration. . . . The technique of elaborating probably contributes more than anything else to the process of the student's becoming a mature person.[31]

**Action Projects**

The techniques described above are intended to serve a dual purpose: one, they are ways of teaching politics (or anything else for that matter); two, they stand a good chance of increasing participation and efficacy. There is always the risk, however, that their intent will be counteracted by the institutionalized imperatives of the school. The Ten-Nation Survey sounded a sombre note in this regard: "Perhaps a hierarchical organization such as the school is not the right setting for inculcating democratic values.[32]

There are at least four ways to tackle this, however. One is to develop and apply systematically the types of teaching strategies already described. A second is to use the school itself as an object of political analysis. A third is to reform the governance of the school so as to allow for more student participation. A fourth is to engage students in politically relevant activity outside the school.

The only systematic attempt to use the school itself as an object of political analysis is the *Comparing Political Experiences* project of the American Political Science Association and it is worth looking in more detail at its notion of the school as a "political laboratory":

> The school is viewed as a microcosm of political life and everyday experiences in leadership and decision-making are utilized both for study and for participation by students. In this way the students' everyday life experiences in the school in peer groups, clubs and school governance activities are tapped for multiple instructional purposes.[33]

Thus, in the first instance, the school is seen as a case-study in politics:

> If politics is defined as those activities through which resources are allocated for a society, many of the decisions made daily by principals, teachers and students which involve value allocations for the society of their school would seem to be political in nature.[34]

Accordingly, the first unit of CPE examines the school as a political institution, that is to say as a setting in which occur decision-making, leadership, communication and participation.

Beyond this, however, the school also serves as an arena for the participation experiences which are so much a part of CPE. For example, "students can act as participant-observers in decision-making situations, interview relevant leaders, or make changes in student organizations in order to determine how alternative forms of political organizations work."[35] They are also taught to conceptualize, rehearse and put into practice different styles of behaviour and participation in student clubs and other school organizations and then to reflect upon their experiences.

The directors of CPE acknowledge that this is likely to change what happens in schools: "The introduction of a program which promotes student social self-fulfilment, participant roles, and political competencies will have demonstrable effects on the social organization of a school."[36] Teachers, for example, will have to acquire the skills necessary to organize and implement participation activities; students will move from passive to active roles. Despite this, CPE argues that schools can accommodate the programme without undue fear of the consequences:

> . . . there is no real reason why radicalization should be a necessary outcome of the program because, perhaps for the first time, students will have a stake in contributing something to the political life of the school. Thus, the pulse of political life in the school will change dramatically, though not necessarily negatively as a result of the program.[37]

This is not the place to discuss how realistic this expectation is, or

how receptive schools will be. For our purposes, the interest of CPE lies in its rigorous approach to using the school as a vehicle of political education.

There are those who argue that simply to use the school in this way does not go far enough, since, for the most part, schools are run (some would say they have to be run) on authoritarian and hierarchical lines and thus can never promote students' feelings of efficacy until they change fundamentally. This argument has benefited in recent years from the work of Lawrence Kohlberg and his associates in connection with the concept of the 'just community'. As Kohlberg puts it:

> . . . if you want to develop morality or a sense of justice in kids, you have to create a just school, a just classroom environment. For the fact that much of what kids learn comes not from books and materials, but from the moral environment and atmosphere that you establish in your classroom . . .[38]

The corollary of this argument, of course, is that there is little or no justice in schools as presently constituted: "The government of most shcools still approximates to that of the totalitarian state rather than to a democratic model."[39] Thus, it is impossible for students to get the experience which is so vital if worthwhile political education is to occur: "pupil participation is a *means* to the end that children should learn the political skills required in the management of human institutions: it is an instrument of citizenship training."[40]

From these considerations emerges a case for some form of student self-government, or at least for student participation in school governance in a different form from what we now know. Entwistle has argued that this need not be an all-or-nothing affair. He points out that there are various levels of loci of decision-making in schools. The levels include decisions about curriculum, teaching-strategies, student evaluation, rules and regulations, school meals and so on. The loci include the school board, the superintendent, the principal, the department-heads, and so forth. Entwistle argues that students could have a real voice in at least some of these things: student participation need not mean student

control. Alternatively, of course, it may be possible to run a 'democratic' classroom within an otherwise conventional school.[41]

Student participation in its most advanced form is perhaps best represented by A. S. Neill's Summerhill and similar schools. It is possible, however, to achieve the same result within the public school system as shown by various U.S. experiments deriving from Kohlberg's work in moral education.

In one version, a mini-school was established within a larger institution. The school developed its own curriculum, based upon English and Social Studies, and giving heavy emphasis to moral discussion, role-taking and the relationships between school affairs and wider social issues. For other subjects, students registered with regular school classes.[42]

The emphasis in all these experiments is upon the establishment of a 'just community'. Participatory democracy is *the* central aim. Wasserman argues that many alternative schools retreated to traditional forms of governance because for them student participation was only one among a number of priorities and, when these conflicted with each other, it was sacrificed. In the just community, however, it is paramount. Everything else is secondary. For this reason, the community meeting is fundamental: "its function is to promote the controlled conflict and open exchange of opinions about fairness that are essential to the moral development of the individuals in the community."[43]

Such a meeting can easily dissolve into chaos or factionalism in the absence of proper supports. For this reason, it is combined with preparatory small-group meetings to give everyone a chance to look at the issues; with student-teacher advisory groups; with committees; and with training in the running of discussion. All these are combined to provide students with the necessary experiences for moral development and the growth of efficacy. Although the concern of the just community projects is for moral education, their relevance for politial education is obvious.

Efficacy is, of course, also very much the goal of those who see political education as best done, at least in part, *via* planned, out-of-school experiences. There is a small but growing trend, especilly in parts of the U.S.A., to see political education in terms

of getting students involved in some sort of political action outside the school. The word 'political' here should be interpreted generously; the point is to get youngsters to take part in community and public issues.

> Cyclists may wish to establish and assist in the regulation of bike trails. Volunteer workers may wish to change some regulations in a mental hospital. Housing organizers may seek more frequent trash collection or more frequent inspection for code violations. Students may advocate an increased budget for women's athletics at the high school. A centre for runaways may attempt to influence politics in a police department or juvenile court. A black student union may have to work for official recognition by the school. According to our definition, these are all attempts to exert influence in public affairs.[44]

In short, student action outside school can occur in at least five forms: (1) voluntary service with social agencies; (2) community projects; (3) political action with political parties or interest groups; (4) community study and surveys; and (5) internship in a community organization. In all cases, advocates of action programmes insist that such activities are not extracurricular but rather are part of the curriculum, integrated where possible with more conventional courses and offered for credit.

All such programmes, of course, are forms of political education in that they are all founded upon a particular concept of citizenship. They lament the inactivity and lack of participation in public affairs displayed by the public at large and amply documented by political scientists. Instead, they offer a picture of the informed, active citizen. Newmann has offered, for example, the idea of 'environmental competence' and especially "the ability to exert influence in public affairs".[45]

Action programmes blame schools, at least in part, for the large degree of apathy that now exists. Newmann points out that schools have never tried to teach the skills, knowledge and attitudes that would produce environmental competence. Their "underlying orientation tends to emphasize the importance of students learning to understand, describe or explain reality, rather than exerting an

impact upon it."[46] Even worse, the dominant modes of teaching assume student passivity: "the student must usually assume an unassertive, inactive, almost docile role".[47] Moreover, even livelier teaching methods and better materials will never solve the problem, which is inherent in the institutional structure of the school and curriculum: "The problem is not so much that the teaching is uninspired . . . or that the materials are dull . . . but rather that young people are offered a steady diet of classroom lectures and discussions on topics which seldom really touch their lives."[48]

Some supporters of action programmes also draw upon psychological evidence and base their arguments upon the needs of adolescents. They argue that "young people are citizens *now*, not merely preparing for citizenship" and go on to point out that youth are to all intents and purposes denied any chance for meaningful involvement in the community:

> There is something wrong with our socialization process when adolescence, the stage of life during which energy and sometimes even idealization are highest, has become a time when waiting is the central task. . . . Youthful apathy, cynicism, hostility, and even delinquency, are some of the consequences of treating youth as incompetent and childish.[49]

Action programmes, of course, consist of more than just going into the community and doing something. They involve choices and priorities as to what should be done; they involve considerable research into issues and problems; they involve confronting and dealing with political realities; they involve learning the arts of negotiation, persuasion and influence. They are 'small-p' political in that they aim to develop a particular kind of citizenship; they are 'large-P' political in that they immerse students in the political realites of everyday life.

There are also action projects which need not involve taking students out of school and which, therefore, may be simpler to implement. In particular, the use of children to teach other children has attractive possibilities. There is some evidence that, when children do teach children, both those doing the learning and those doing the teaching benefit.[50] But, apart from the academic gains,

the attractions of this approach for anyone interested in political education is its potential for giving children real responsibilities in a worthwhile task and hence increasing their sense of competence.

Conrad and Hedin suggest five criteria for assessing the value of action programmes, arguing that they must give students the chance to perform tasks that both students and community see as worthwhile. The criteria are that students should

1. have some responsibility for making their own decisions;
2. have other people depend on their actions;
3. work on tasks that strengthen their thinking both cognitively and ethically;
4. work with other age groups;
5. reflect systematically on their experience.[51]

Points #3 and #5 are especially important in that they indicate that action programmes are not intended to promote action for action's sake, but rather as carefully organized attempts to develop students' political skills, sense of responsibility and general feelings of competence.

In any event, to return to the beginning of this discussion, contemporary approaches to the teaching of politics represent an attempt to deal with a number of considerations. First, they take account of the research into cognitive development and try to convert the often abstract subject-matter of politics into terms that students can understand through concrete, personal experience. Second, they take note of the findings of political socialization research that conventional approaches have not in fact proved very successful. Third, they recognize the findings of educational researchers as to the impact of the hidden curriculum. Fourth, they are grounded in a political theory which takes popular participation seriously and which sees politics as consisting primarily of issues and problems. The overriding purpose of education has been well decribed as the attainment of "personal autonomy based on reason".[52] It is especially applicable to political education.

## REFERENCES

### Political Education and the Teaching of Politics


[1]S. Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Roots of Consumer Culture*. New York, 1976.

[2]D. S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Europe from 1750 to the Present*. Cambridge, 1969, p. 59.

[3]G. Sturt, *The Wheelwright's Shop*. Cambridge, 1923, pp. 38-39.

[4]Cited in E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38(1967), p. 84.

[5]W. Boyd, *The Educational Theory of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, New York, 1963, pp. 306-7.

[6]K. W. Osborne, *"Hard-Working, Temperate and Peaceable": The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*. Winnipeg, 1980.

[7]J. Hurt, "Professor West on Early Nineteenth Century Education", *Economic History Review*, XXIV, pp. 624-632.

[8]*Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1888*, p. 14.

[9]*Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1897*, p. 23.

[10]*Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1913*, p. 23.

[11]*Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1914*, p. 41.

[12]*Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1898*, pp. 19-20.

[13]H. D. Clarke, J. Jenson, L. Leduc, J. H. Pammett, *Political Choice in Canada.* Toronto, 1979, p. 22.

[14]W. Mishler, *Political Participation in Canada.* Toronto, 1979, p. 95.

[15]A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *Teaching Canada for the '80s.* Toronto, 1979, p. 60.

[16]R. Altemeyer, *The Manitoban,* n.d. See also his *Right Wing Authoritarianism,* Winnipeg, 1980.

[17]J. V. Torney *et al., Civic Education in Ten Countries.* New York, 1975, p. 21.

[18]L. Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays.* New York, 1971.

[19]B. Crick and A. Porter, *Political Education and Political Literacy.* London, 1978, p. 13.

[20]C. Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory,* Cambridge, 1970, p. 43.

[21]K. W. Osborne, *The Teaching of Politics: Some Suggestions for Teachers.* Toronto, 1982, p. 21.

[22]E. Marchand, *Working for Canadians.* Toronto, 1979, p. 4.

[23]*Ibid.,* p. 33.

[24]*House of Commons Debates,* 17 March, 1982.

[25]A. B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?* Toronto, 1968, p. 79.

[26]A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *Teaching Canada for the '80s.* Toronto, 1979, p. 32.

[27]K. W. Osborne, "Discipline as a Form of Political Education," Education Manitoba. Nov. 1982, pp.9-11.

[28]D. Hanson and M. Herrington, "Please Miss, You're Supposed To Stop Her," *New Society,* 10 June, 1976, p. 568.

[29]L. Milbrath, *Political Participation: How and Why People Get Involved in Politics.* Chicago, 1965, p. 59.

[30]G. Almond and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture.* Boston, 1965, pp. 271-272.

[31]S. Lightfoot, "Politics and Reasoning Through the Eyes of Teachers and Children" *Harvard Educational Review.* 43(1973), pp. 197-244.

[32]J. Gillespie and J. J. Patrick, *Comparing Political Experiences.* Washington, 1974, p. 4.

[33]J. V. Torney *et al. Civic Education in Ten Countries.* New York, 1975, p. 21.

[34]L. Kohlberg and P. Witten, "Understanding the Hidden Curriculum," *Learning,* 1(1972), pp. 10-14. See also E. Wasserman, "Implementing Kohlberg's 'Just Community Concept' in an Alternative High School," *Social Education,* 40(April, 1976), pp. 203-207.

[35]D. Conrad and C. Hedin, "Learning and Earning Citizenship Through Participation," in J. Shaver (ed.), *Building Rationales for Citizenship Education.* Washington, 1977, pp. 48-73. See also F. Newmann, *Education for Citizen Action.* Berkeley, 1975.

[36]D. Botting, K. Botting, K. Osborne, J. Seymour, R. Swyston, *Politics and You.* Winnipeg, 1982; and E. Baydock, P. Francis, K. Osborne, B. Semotok, *Politics is Simply a Public Affair,* Winnipeg, 1982.

[37]J. S. Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government.* London, 1910, p. 217.

## Civics, Citizenship and Politics: Political Education in the Schools

[1]G. Whitty, "Political Education: Some Reservations," *The Social Science Teacher,* 8(3), Feb. 1979, p. 112.

[2]A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *Teaching Canada for the '80s.* Toronto: O.I.S.E., 1978, p. vi.

[3]B. Crick and A. Porter, *Political Education and Political Literacy,* London: Longmans, 1978; B. Crick and D. B. Heater, *Essays on Political Education,* Ringmar: Falmer Press, 1977; D. B. Heater, (ed.), *The Teaching of Politics,* London: Methuen, 1969; H. Entwistle, *Political Education in a Democracy,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971; J. P. Shaver (ed.), *Building Rationales for Citizenship Education,* Washington: N.C.S.A., 1977; *Education for Responsible Citizenship: The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977; T. Tapper and B. Salter, *Education and the Political Order,* London: Macmillan, 1978. For a brief survey of developments see K. Osborne, "Civics, Citizenship and Politics: What Should We Teach?" *Contact,* 46, Sept. 1980. See also D. B. Heater, "Political Education: Present Condition and Future Problems", *Parliamentary Affairs,* XXXII (2), Spring, 1979, pp. 143-158.

[4] Cited in S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972, p. 132.

[5] S. Houston, "Politics, Schools and Social Change in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, LIII(3), Sept. 1972, p. 256.

[6] M. J. Crozier, S. P. Huntington, J. Watanuki, *The Crisis of Democracy*, New York: New York University Press, 1975.

[7] J. V. Torney and A. Oppenheim, *Civic Education in Ten Countries*, New York: Wiley, 1975, p. 21.

[8] For more on this, see the exchange between Professors Hare and Osborne, in *Contact*, 48, Feb. 1981.

[9] L. W. Milbrath and M. L. Goel, *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1977.

[10] B. Crick and A. Porter, *Political Education and Political Literacy*. London: Longman, 1978, p. 13

[11] *Education for Responsible Citizenship*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977, p. 9.

[12] As illustrated, for example, by these remarks:

> . . . a majority of Canadians simply do not like politics or politicians . . . the general comments on politics were 33% positive and 52% negative. The general comments on politicians were a staggering 78%, negative in tone. Politicans tend to be seen by Canadians as "terrible", as "crooked", as "doing a bad job", as "out for themselves", as "wasting the money we pay in taxes", as "serving the big interests", as "generally ineffectual". Government has the same image; attitudes towards it are 75% negative. Similarly, the general comments on parties are 78% negative".

H. D. Clarke, J. Jenson, L. LeDuc, J. H. Pammett, *Political Choice in Canada*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1979, p. 10.

[13] A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

[14] W. Mishler, *Political Participation in Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1979, p. 145; see also pp. 1-16. Probably the best general work is C. Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

[15] This is nicely put by Hodgetts and Gallagher: "A democratic society that tolerates such a situation (i.e. cynicism and apathy) for long takes unwar-



128

ranted risks with its own stability, and does a disservice to students whose lives will be so pervasively influenced by governments and the total political system." *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[16] W. Mishler, *op. cit.*, p. 95. See also D. Olsen, *The State Elite*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1980.

[17] A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[18] *B. R. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, W. N. McPhee Voting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, p. 314.

[19] F. Ridley "Political Education: A View from Less Favoured Parts," *Parliamentary Affairs*, XXXIII(2), Spring, 1980, p. 135. See also A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, op. cit., p. 3.

[20] E. Marchand, *Working for Canadians*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1979. p. 4. For an analysis of the consensus orientation of history textbooks see K. Osborne, *"Hard-Working, Temperate and Peaceable": the Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, University of Manitoba Education Monograph IV, 1980.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] A. B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?* Toronto: O.I.S.E. 1968, p. 79.

[23] C. D. Cary, "The Goals of Citizenship Training in American and Soviet Schools," *Studies in Comparative Communism*, X(3), Autumn 1977, p. 282.

[24] R. Remy, *Handbook of Basic Citizenship Competencies*. Washington: A.S.C.D., 1980, p. vii. For another formulation, see J. S. Gibson, "Citizenship Education: Academic and Pragmatic Perspectives," in I. Morrissett & W. W. Stevens (eds.), *Social Science in the Schools: A Search for Rationale*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971, pp. 45-57.

[25] A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[26] E. Marchand, *op. cit.*, p. v. For the alternative view of the state see R. Miliband, *The State in Capitalism Society*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969; and L. Panitch (ed.), *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977, Esp. pp. 1-27.

[27] A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[28] Recent projects in political education are summarized in Appendix A of this paper.

[29] P. Bourne and J. Eisenberg, *Social Isues in the Curriculum: Theory, Practice and Evaluation*. Toronto: O.I.S.E., 1979, p. 7.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[31] B. Crick and A. Porter, *Political Education and Political Literacy*, London: Longman, 1978, p. 48.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[33] M. Schultz, *Comparative Political Systems*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967. More generally see E. Fenton (ed.), *Teaching The New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: An Inductive Approach*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966.

[34] E. Fenton, "The Implications of Lawrence Kohlberg's Research for Civic Education," in *Education for Responsible Citizenship*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966.

[35] H. Mehlinger and J. J. Patrick, *American Political Behaviour*, New York: Ginn, 1972.

[36] B. Crick and A. Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-62. See also B. Crick and D. B. Heater, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-112.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.

[39] J. A. Gillespie and J. J. Patrick, *Comparing Political Experiences*. Washington: American Political Science Association, 1974.

[40] D. Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1965, and *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

[41] The diagram is taken from D. Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," *World Politics*, 9, 1957, pp. 383-400.

[42] The eight points are adapted from I. Morrissett, *Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967, pp. 28-30.

[43] E. A. Peel, *The Nature of Adolescent Judgment*, London: Staples Press, 1971. See also J. Adelson, "The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent," *Daedalus*, Fall, 1971, pp. 1013-1050; R. W. Connell, *The Child's Construction of Politics*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971; N. Rosenau, "The Sources of Children's Political Concepts: An Application of Piaget's Theory"., in D. C. and S. K. Schwartz, *New Directions in Political Socialization*, London: The Free Press, 1975, pp. 163-187; P. Tom-

linson, "Political Education: Cognitive Developmental Perspectives from Moral Education," *Oxford Review of Education*, 1(3), 1975, pp. 241-267; J. Gallatin, "Political Thinking in Adolescence," in J. Adelson (ed.), *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, New York: Wiley, 1980, pp. 344-382. Also relevant are K. Osborne, "Some Psychological Concerns for the Teaching of History," *History and Social Science Teacher*, XI, Fall, 1975, pp. 15-25; M. E. Sleeper, "A Developmental Framework for History Education in Adolescence," *School Review*, 84(1), Nov. 1975, pp. 91-107; and D. Shemilt, *Evaluation Study: History 13-16*, Edinburgh, Holmes & McDougall, 1980.

[44] L. S. Vygotsky, "Learning and Mental Development at School Age", in B. Simon (ed.), *Educational Psychology in the U.S.S.R.*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963, pp. 21-35.

[45] E. Mason, "'A' Level History," *History Workshop Journal*, 3, 1977, p. 107.

[46] J. D. B. Miller, *The Nature of Politics:* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965, p. 290.

[47] A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[48] Adapted from L. F. Anderson, R. C. Remy and R. C. Snyder, "Criteria for Improving Political Education in Elementary School", *International Journal of Political Education*, 1(1977), pp. 61-72.

[49] See, for example, S. Lightfoot, "Politics and Reasoning Through the Eyes of Teachers and Children," *Harvard Educational Review*, 43, 1973, pp. 197-244 and S. Bossert, *Tasks and Social Relationships in Classrooms*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

[50] L. W. Milbrath, *Political Participation: How and Why People Get Involved in Politics*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965, p. 59.

[51] G. Almond and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1965, pp. 271-272. See also W. D. Hawley, "Political Education and School Organization", *Theory Into Practice*, X(5),1971, pp. 328-335.

[52] R. D. Hess and J. V. Torney, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*. Chicago: Aldine, 1967, p. 110.

[53] D. Hanson and M. Herrington, "Please Miss, You're Supposed to Stop Her," *New Society*, 10 June, 1976, p. 568. See also T. L. Good and J. E. Brophy, *Looking in Classrooms*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973, pp. 22-38.

[54] Annual Report of the Winnipeg School District, 1898.

[55] J. Gillespie and J. J. Patrick, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[58] J. V. Torney *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[59] L. Kohlberg and P. Witten, "Understanding the Hidden Curriculum", *Learning*, 1 (1972), pp. 10-14. See also E. Wasserman, "Implementing Kohlberg's 'Just Community Concept' in an Alternative High School", *Social Education*, 40, (April 1976), pp. 203-207.

[60] H. Entwistle, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-67.

[61] F. Newmann, *Education for Citizen Action*, Berkeley: McCutchan, 1975, p. 42

[62] *Ibid., passim.*

[63] National Task Force on Citizenship Education, *Education for Responsible Citizenship*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1977, p. 157.

[64] D. Conrad and D. Hedin, "Learning and Earning Citizenship Through Participation", in J. Shaver (ed.), *Building Rationales for Citizenship Education*. Washington: N.C.S.S., 1977, pp. 48-73.

[65] A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[66] B. Crick and D. B. Heater, *Essays on Political Education:* Ringmer: Falmer Press, p. 34.

[67] A. Bernard, *La Politique au Canada et au Québec*. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1978, pp. 1-3.

[68] D. B. Heater, "Political Education: Present Conditions and Future Prospects," *Parliamentary Affairs*, XXXII(2), Spring, 1979, pp. 150-151.

**Political Education or Political Socialization: The Role of the Hidden Curriculum**

[1] L. Kohlberg and R. Mayer, "Development as the Aim of Education," *Harvard Educational Review*, 42(1972), pp. 449-496.

[2] Cited in S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972, p. 132.

[3]Cited in E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present,* 38(Dec. 1967), p. 59.

[4]K. W. Osborne, *"Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable": the Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks.* Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Education Monograph IV, 1980. See also J. Anyon, "Ideology and United States History Textbooks," *Harvard Educational Review,* 49(3), 1979, pp. 361-386.

[5]E. Marchand, *Working for Canadians.* Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1979. The passages discussed are to be found on pp. 18-26 and 49ff.

[6]J. S. Bruner, *The Relevance of Education.* New York, Norton, 1971, p. 92.

[7]J. Brophy and J. Good, *Looking in Classrooms.* New York: Harper and Row, 1973, pp. 22-37.

[8]A. B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968, *passim.*

[9]T. T. Aoki, *et al., British Columbia Social Studies Assessment: A Report to the Ministry of Education.* Victoria: B.C. Ministry of Education, 1977.

[10]L. W. Downey, *The Social Studies in Alberta, 1975: A Report of An Assessment.* Edmonton: Alberta Department of Education, 1975.

[11]C. Trottier, "Les enseignants comme agents de socialisation politique au Quebec," *Canadian Journal of Education.* 7(1), 1982, pp. 15-43.

[12]R. Dreeben *On What Is Learned In School.* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968.

[13]P. Jackson, *Life in Classrooms.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

[14]D. Hanson and M. Herrington, "Please Miss, You're Supposed to Stop Her," *New Society,* 10 June 1976, p. 568.

[15]L. Wylie, *Village in the Vaucluse.* New York: Harper & Row, 1957.

[16]D. Hess and J. V. Torney. *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children.* Chicago: Aldine, 1967, p. 110.

[17]P. Willis, *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs.* Farnborough: Saxon House, 1977.

See also J. Anyon, "Educational Equity and School Instruction," *Social Education,* April 1981, pp. 277-281.

[18]For a summary of the evidence see K. Osborne, "Some Psychological Concerns for the Teaching of History," *The History and Social Science Teacher*, 1975, pp. 15-25.

[19]E. A. Peel, *The Nature of Adolescent Judgment*. London: Staples Press, 1971, *passim*.

[20]K. Langton, *Political Socialization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 84-119.

[21]J. V. Torney *et al.*, *Civic Education in Ten Countries*. New York: Wiley, 1975, p. 21.

[22]H. D. Clarke *et al.*, *Political Choice in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1979, p. 10.

[23]D. Olson, *The State Elite*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1980; W. Clement, *The Corporate Elite in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975; W. Mishler, *Political Participation in Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1979.

[24]G. Almond and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965, pp. 271-2.

[25]S. Lightfoot, "Politics and Reasoning Through the Eyes of Teachers and Children," *Harvard Educational Review*, 43(1973), pp. 197-244.

[26]N. Bennett, *Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976, p. 98.

[27]J. S. Coleman, *et al.*, *Youth: Transition to Adulthood*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

[28]E. Mason, "A-Level History," *History Workshop Journal*. 3(1977), p. 107.

**Morals and Values in the Schools: Citizenship and Moral Education**

1See K. Osborne, "Discipline as a Form of Political Education," *Education Manitoba*, November, 1982, pp.

[2]S. Lightfoot, "Politics and Reasoning Through the Eyes of Teachers and Children," *Harvard Educational Review*, 43(2), 1973, pp. 197-244.

[3]G. Wehlage and A. L. Lockwood, "Moral Relativism and Values Education," in D. Purpel and K. Ryan (*eds.*), *Moral Education . . . It Comes With The Territory* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 330-331.

[4] I. Scheffler, "The Moral Content of American Public Education," in D. Purpel and K. Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[5] J. Wilson, N. Williams, B. Sugarman, *Introduction to Moral Education*, (Harmondsworth, 1967), pp. 192-197.

[6] *Annual Report of the Winnipeg School District, 1897*, p. 19.

[7] L. E. Raths, M. Harmin, S. B. Simon, *Values and Teaching*, (Columbus, 1966), p. 27.

[8] Cited in R. Henley and J. Pampallis, "The Campaign for Compulsory Education in Manitoba," *Canadian Journal of Education*, 7(1), 1982, p. 81.

[9] *Annual Report of the School District of Winnipeg*, 1913, p. 23.

[10] K. Osborne, "Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable": The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks, (Winnipeg, 1980), p. 73.

[11] W. Mishler, *Political Participation in Canada*, (Toronto, 1979), p. 95.

[12] R. Altmeyer, *Right-Wing Authoritarianism in Canada*, (Winnipeg, 1981).

[13] S. Engle, "Decision Making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction," *Social Education*, XXIV(7), Nov. 1960, pp. 301ff.

[14] P. Bourne and J. Eisenberg, *Social Issues in the Curriculum*, (Toronto, 1978), p. 7.

[15] D. Superka, *Values Education Sourcebook*, (Boulder, 1976).

[16] A. W. Kay, *Moral Development*, (London, 1970), p. 52.

[17] E. Fenton, *The New Social Studies*, (New York, 1968), pp. 17-19.

[18] B. Crick and D. B. Heater, *Essays in Political Education*, (Ringmer, 1977), p. 114.

[19] F. Newmann, *Clarifying Public Controversy: An Approach to Teaching Social Studies*, (Boston, 1970), p. 26.

[20] L. Kohlberg and P. Witten, "Understanding the Hidden Curriculum," *Learning*, 1 (1972), pp. 10-14.

[21] E. Wasserman, "Implementing Kohlberg's 'Just Community Concept' in an Alternative High School," *Social Education*, 40 (April, 1976), pp. 203-207.

[1]Cited in S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work*, (New York, 1972) p. 132.

[2]L. W. Milbrath and M. L. Goel, *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* (Chicago, 1977); S. Verba, N. H. Nie and Jae-on Kim, *The Modes of Democratic Participation: A Cross-National Comparison*, Beverley Hills, 1971); S. Verba and N. H. Nie, *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*, (New York, 1972); H. D. Clarke, J. Jenson, L. LeDuc and J. H. Pammett, *Political Choice in Canada*, (Toronto, 1979).

[3]J. V. Torney, A. Oppenheim, *et. al., Civic Education in Ten Countries*, (New York, 1975), p. 21.

[4]See K. W. Osborne, "Some Psychological Concerns for the Teaching of History", *History and Social Science Teacher*, 11(2), Winter 1975, pp. 15-25, and references therein cited.

[5]J. S. Bruner, *The Process of Education*, (New York, 1963), p. 33.

[6]The phrase is taken from B. Crick and D. Heater, *Essays on Political Education*, (Ringmer, 1977), p. 34.

[7]A. B. Hodgetts and P. Gallagher, *Teaching Canada for the 80's*, (Toronto, 1978), p. 32.

[8]See generally F. P. Hunkins, *et al., Review of Research in Social Studies Education*, (Washington, 1977); M. J. Dunkin and B. J. Biddle, *The Study of Teaching*, (New York, 1978).

[9]L. W. Milbrath, *Political Participation*, (Chicago, 1965), p. 59.

[10]G. Almond and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture*, (Boston, 1965), pp. 271-2.

[11]C. Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, (Cambridge, 1970).

[12]S. Lightfoot, "Politics and Reasoning Through the Eyes of Teachers and Children", *Harvard Educational Review*, 43(2), 1973, pp. 197-244. See also J. T. Pedersen, "On the Educational Function of Political Participation: A Comparative Analysis of John Stuart Mill's Theory and Contemporary Survey Research Findings," *Political Studies, XXX*, pp. 557-568.

[13]T. L. Good and J. E. Brophy, *Looking in Classrooms*, (New York, 1973), pp. 22-38.

[14]E. Mason, "A-Level History," *History Workshop Journal*, 3(Spring, 1977), pp. 107.

[15] J. D. Raths, "Teaching Without Specific Objectives", *Educational Leadership*, April 1971, pp. 714-720.

[16] W. D. Hawley, "Political Education and School Organization", *Theory into Practice*, X(5), p. 330. See also E. J. Haller and S. J. Thorson, "The Political Socialization of Children and the Structure of the Elementary School", *Interchange*, 1, (1970), pp. 45-67.

[17] D. W. Oliver and F. Newmann, *Taking A Stand: A Guide to Clear Discussion of Public Issues*, (Columbus, 1967).

[18] W. Fawcett Hill, *Learning Through Discussion*, (Beverley Hills, 1969), pp. 22 ff.

[19] B. K. Beyer, "Conducting Moral Discussions in the Classroom", *Social Education*, April 1976, p. 196.

[20] S. Engle, "Decision-making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction", *Social Education*, 24, (Nov. 1960), p. 301.

[21] A. B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?*, (Toronto, 1968), pp. 53-7.

[22] An alternative approach here is that of Stenhouse, who advocates that the teacher be a neutral chairperson in discussion. See L. Stenhouse, "The Humanities Curriculum Project: A Rationale", *Theory into Practice*, 10, (1971), pp. 154-162.

[23] A. B. Hodgetts, *op. cit.*, p. 66, n. 9.

[24] J. J. Patrick and A. D. Glenn, *The Young Voter: A Guide to Instruction About Voter Behavior and Elections*, (Washington, 1972), pp. 19-21.

[25] T. F. Carney, *Constructing Instructional Simulation Games*, (Winnipeg, 1974, p. 80).

[26] Exception must be made, however, for *Caucus*, a first rate game about Canadian politics. Among the most useful books on simulation and gaming are T. F. Carney, *op. cit.*, C. C. Abt, *Serious Games*, (New York, 1971); M. Inbar and C. S. Stoll, *Simulation and Gaming in Social Science*, (New York, 1972); W. Nesbitt, *Simulation Games for the Social Studies Classroom*, (New York, 1971); R. Walford, *Games in Geography*, (London, 1969); J. Taylor and R. Walford, *Simulation in the Classroom*, (Harmondsworth, 1972); C. S. Greenblatt and R. D. Duke, *Gaming-Simulation: Rationale, Design and Applications*, (New York, 1975).

[27] T. F. Carney, *No Limits to Growth*, (Winnipeg, 1976).

[28] I am indebted for most of what I know and have used in this area to Kevin Burns and Liz Koffman, formerly with the Manitoba Department of Education.

[29] F. R. and G. D. Shaftel, *Role-Playing for Social Values: Decision-Making in the Social Studies*, (Englewood Cliffs, 1967); R. F. and A. A. Maier, *Role-Playing Technique: A Handbook for Management and Leadership Practice*, (La Jolla, California, 1975).

[30] B. J. Wagner, *Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a Learning Medium*, (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 13.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[32] J. V. Torney and A. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[33] J. Gillespie and J. J. Patrick, *Comparing Political Experiences*, (Washington, 1974), p. 4.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[38] L. Kohlberg and P. Witten, "Understanding the Hidden Curriculum", *Learning*, 1 (1972), pp. 10-14.

[39] H. Entwistle, *Political Education in a Democracy*, (London, 1971), p. 35.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[41] See, for instance, M. E. Turner, *The Child Within the Group: An Experiment in Self-Government*, (Stanford, 1957).

[42] E. R. Wasserman, "Implementing Kohlberg's 'Just Community Concept' in an Alternative High School", *Social Education*, 40(4), April 1976, pp. 203-207. See also J. Stewart, "The School As Just Community: Transactional-Developmental Moral Education", in J. Meyer, B. Burnham and J. Cholvat, *Values Education*, (Waterloo, 1975, pp. 149-164.

[43] E. R. Wasserman, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[44] F. Newmann, *Education for Citizen Action*, (Berkeley, 1975), p. 42.

[45] *Ibid.*, chap. 2.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[48] *Education for Responsible Citizenship*, (New York, 1977), p. 157.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

[50] A. Gartner, M. Kohler, F. Reissman, *Children Teach Children*, (New York, 1971), pp. 53-72.

[51] *Education for Responsible Citizenship*, pp. 134-135.

[52] R. F. Dearden, *The Philosophy of Primary Education*, (London, 1968), p. 46.

## MONOGRAPHS IN EDUCATION

A semi-annual series published by the Faculty of Education, The University of Manitoba.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I | *Issues in Higher Education* | Spring 1979 |
| II | *Higher Education in Canada: Historical Perspectives* | Fall 1979 |
| III | *The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba*<br>by D. Bruce Sealey | Spring 1980 |
| IV | *'Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable' — The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks.*<br>by Kenneth W. Osborne | Fall 1980 |
| V | *Approaches to Educational History* | Spring 1981 |
| VI | *Daniel McIntyre and the Winnipeg Schools,*<br>by William J. Wilson | Fall 1981 |
| VII | *A Guide to Bibliographies in Education,*<br>By Doreen Shanks | Spring 1982 |
| VIII | *A Perspective on Teaching Classroom Writing,*<br>by Odarka S. Trosky and Clifford C. Wood | Fall 1982 |
| IX | *The Development of Education in Manitoba I: Red River to 1897.*<br>by Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson | Spring 1983 |
| X | *The Development of Education in Manitoba II: 1897-1982.*<br>by Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson | Fall 1983 |
| XI | *Hutterian Education*<br>by Elisabeth Peters | Spring 1984 |
| XII | *Working Papers in Political Education*<br>by Kenneth W. Osborne | Fall 1984 |

Printing Group
Communication Systems
The University of Manitoba